





PSYCHOLOGY

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WRITING

•

ACTING

•

SPEAKING



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Man. Psych.

[Topical

PERSONALITY EXPRESSED
Mussolini speaks. The world listens.

PSYCHOLOGY

WRITING - ACTING - SPEAKING

With an Introduction by
PROFESSOR ERNEST JONES, M.D.

Edited by
R. D. COOLE, B.A.(Oxon.), and
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Printed in Great Britain

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INTRODUCTION

by ERNEST JONES, M.D., *President of the International
Psycho-Analytical Association*

PSYCHOLOGY has been called the science of the twentieth century. This is perhaps true in so far as progress in psychological knowledge has been far greater during the past forty or fifty years than during many other centuries together. But it is not at all true in the sense in which it is usually intended, nor is there any sign at present of its becoming true before the twentieth century is over. For what the statement implies is that, just as physics profoundly influenced the thought of the seventeenth century, chemistry that of the eighteenth, and biology that of the nineteenth, affecting the general outlook on life characteristic of those times, so psychology is supposed to be influencing the thought and outlook of the present century. I do not share that opinion, and I should give another explanation of the reasons that have engendered it.

Essentially man is a very unpsychological animal, now as much as ever. What masquerades as psychological curiosity has quite another meaning than a true desire to know. I am alluding here to the greatest discovery ever made in psychology, one inseparably connected with the name of Freud. It is that we are *unconscious* of the mainspring of our mental activity, for what we call our mind—the only mental activity we know—is only a carefully selected portion of a larger whole, the greater part of which is “unconscious”; furthermore, that—without our knowing of them—there exist exceedingly powerful forces aimed against our becoming aware of the deepest layers. When we think we are curious about the “workings of the mind,” and are rather inclined to talk about the “psychology” of this, that, and the other, we are for the most part merely being impelled (by the forces I hinted at) to invent a pseudo-knowledge, a series of rationalisations or false reasons which pretend to describe the motives of ourselves or others, but which actually are substitutes for true knowledge and designed as a cover to keep this hidden.

There are special methods of investigation—known as psycho-analysis—that enable us to penetrate through to the deeper layers of what in a far broader sense we must still call the mind. They are found to be composed of strange and fantastic primitive strivings, wild impulses, and dark fears, which take their origin in the beginnings of life, and doubtless are descended from a remote ancestry. The conscious mind is a derivative of the unconscious one, much modified by the impressions of experience. The unconscious mind profoundly influences our conscious

likings, interests, preferences, aims, beliefs, and—last but not least—our codes and standards of life.

The deep aversion to self-knowledge, unknown as it is, has many interesting consequences. It gives the average man a contempt for psychological science, since he has his picture of himself already firmly fixed, and can only carry on his life if he remains convinced—as most people are—that he is a practical psychologist who has nothing to learn on the matter from anyone else. When news percolated through to the world that revolutionary discoveries had lately been made in psychology it had an uneasy reverberation. The depths were slightly ruffled here and there, and there arose fresh need to fortify the defences against true self-knowledge. A crop of self-styled “psychologists” appeared, any of whom was prepared to reassure the public by providing a plausible and “harmless” explanation of mental problems. In no position to discriminate, and with an inward flinching from the depths, the public felt once more safe. And that is all the so-called “influence of psychology in modern life” really amounts to.

Anyone who has made really profound investigations into psychology, and thus added to our knowledge, can easily be met with the parrot cry that, “there are so many schools of psychology,” the gratifying inference being that everyone is free to believe what he likes—there being no such thing as truth. There is therefore no danger of such an investigator being invited to throw light on the reasons for the mass murder on our roads, 80 per cent. of which are officially described as “psychological,” on the complex problems of the best form of government for society, on the political and economic perplexities of the day, all of which are ultimately psychological in nature, on the bewildering facts of criminality, or—least of all—on the overwhelming and centrally important topic of our time—the next war.

But we must not do an injustice to the purely descriptive aspects of psychology, in which various *conscious* activities have been studied in great detail. At least two of them have proved of considerable practical value. One is the system of “mental tests” inaugurated by Binet, which within certain limits enable us to establish the “intelligence age” of both children and adults. The other comprises the semi-physiological tests that are useful in recommending adolescents which career to choose, or more precisely which careers to avoid. And although the world is loath to acquire the understanding of human nature proffered by the depth psychology to which I alluded earlier, there is one field where its ministrations are more or less gratefully accepted—that of mental suffering and unhappiness of psychological origin.



PSYCHOLOGY: THE STUDY OF MIND

by W. STEPHENSON, M.Sc., Ph.D., *Lecturer in Psychology,
University College, London*

PEOPLE still fight shy of psychology. As Professor Ernest Jones writes in the Introduction to the following sections, we too often do not want to hear the truth about ourselves and the motives for our actions. This is one reason why psychology is given the cold shoulder. But the objection is levelled rather at psycho-analysis—the study of the subconscious regions of the mind—than at that part of psychology that is the study of the growth and mechanism of the mind and of how impressions are formed. A popular objection to this side of psychology is that it does not lead anywhere, that it is abstract, like philosophy, and that we cannot use it for any practical purposes.

The following sections show what a mistake it is to ignore psychology, which can do as much for our minds as medicine and surgery can do for our bodies. A knowledge of how impressions, habits, character itself, are formed is necessary for every parent and teacher. The first of the following sections on psychology proves how much we should be indebted to a science which has made it possible to ascertain not only the degree of a child's intelligence, but the kind of intelligence it possesses. It is clear that the application of such knowledge must reduce the number of misfits in society very considerably. In this aspect the application of psychological principles may be compared to preventive medicine.

PSYCHOLOGY deals with many and various matters; it is difficult to know where to begin, but if I lie back in my chair for a moment and try to leave my mind a "blank," then sooner or later something will occur to me and I shall write about that. Here in my very first thought there arise many problems of great concern to a psychologist. I should like to know, for instance, what happens when my mind is a "blank," and how things "occur to me." And the word "write" brings the thought to my mind that there are psychologists who spend the greater part of their energies in studying the psychology of handwriting. They are concerned with questions of the kind: how should children be taught to write? Do men usually write boldly and women in small and timid characters? Can one's temperament be "read" from one's handwriting? Can handwriting scales be made, to measure excellence of handwriting?

But when I do allow my mind to relax, to be a "blank," the very next thought that comes to my mind is that the Derby is to be run at Epsom to-morrow. There will be so much excitement there that I shall be able to look up into the grandstands and see the tint of its sea of faces turn pinker and pinker as the horses near the winning-post. I wonder how on earth I remembered such a detail, and then recall having read it in Sir Francis Galton's *Memories of My Life*. How, then, do I remember the thousands of things I do, and why cannot I recall them all just when I like? I wonder why my face should turn pink when I am excited,

and blanch a deathlike white when I am terribly afraid. As for the racing itself, I should like to know what it is that makes people congregate in such vast numbers to see horses run, whether some people are "born" gamblers, or whether gambling is merely a social habit.

QUESTIONS WE WOULD ALL LIKE ANSWERED

I LIE back in my chair again, and once more allow myself to relax. This time, within a few seconds, I find myself listening to my wireless set. It has been playing all the time, but I have not noticed it until now. A violinist is playing sweet music, and, as I continue to listen, strange feelings well up into my heart (or so I feel), and tender emotions seem to flood my whole body. I am, as we say, in emotional rapport with the music. I then begin to ask my psychological questions. I should like to know what makes some music sweet and pleasant to listen to, whilst there is music of another kind for which no words are strong enough to express my dislike of it. I begin to wonder about feelings and emotions, and at least a thousand questions surge into my mind, all requiring the attention of psychologists of the future. I begin to think of music, and wonder why it is so devoid of humour. And what is the nature of musical genius, the ability above all others in the world that I envy? Is it something that cannot receive an explanation, an eternal mystery of mankind, or can it be understood in terms of some very simple abilities that we all have in some degree, every man and woman of us?

I can ask questions of this kind about every single thought I have, every feeling I experience, every action I perform or desire I have. Questions about insanity on the one hand and genius on the other, about the humdrum things of life like seeing and hearing, our petty pleasures and pains, questions about odd things like trances, hypnotism, telepathy, and dreams, and questions about religious feelings and scientific beliefs, about love and hate, marriage and murder—all these things and a thousand more supply questions of concern to the psychologist. We should remember, too, that there are millions of men and women in the world about whom we can ask these questions for every thought they have, every feeling, desire, emotion, or striving, for every moment of their lives, asleep or awake.

These questions are the raw material of psychology. It is out of these that we have to fashion our science. With these mental processes, and living behaviour as its groundwork, it is readily appreciated that psychology has no easy task to face, but this complexity of its material is no excuse for the belief of so many people that psychology can never become scientific. The psychologist; like a chemist or physicist, simply seeks to set down the facts and to search for new facts. He has to classify them, like a geologist his soils and rocks. He has to investigate them in his own way, to try to find out the laws of psychology, and to give the facts an explanation. By which we mean that he does not hope to give his facts any ultimate explanation, but is satisfied if he can get somewhere near the truth. For truth, indeed, ever recedes further from the scientist's grasp the nearer he gets to it.

Psychology, however, is not concerned only with adults. It has much to say and do about children. Should this seem a fatuous remark, then it is well to be reminded that psychology has not always been interested in children. It is true that Plato, the great Greek philosopher, recognised that children differed one from another—one being more intelligent than another—but all down the mediæval centuries and until the close of the nineteenth century very few questions of a psychological kind were asked about children. They were considered to be similar lumps of clay, as it were, to be moulded at will for goodness or evil, for learning or for ignorance, at the hands of their parents, teachers, or tutors. But matters are very different now, and child psychology is at present perhaps the most vital of all the many branches of psychology.

HOW PSYCHOLOGY HELPS THE PARENT AND THE TEACHER

IT should be of interest to look for a moment or two at some of the methods that are used by psychologists in their studies on children. There is usually nothing very remarkable about these methods, and yet the facts they bring forward are often of a kind that would have occasioned no little surprise to psychologists of only twenty or thirty years ago. Take, for example, the kinds of incidental observations that a modern psychologist makes when he sees a baby at play. When it is a few months old a baby will stretch its hand out for a rattle that is held suitably before it, and, having grasped it, will use the rattle as it was intended to be used. But now suppose that *two* rattles happen to be held out, one for the one hand, and one for the other. Baby will take one, hold it, and then grasp the other; only when it has both will it begin to rattle them.

There seems to be nothing very remarkable in this until we observe that somehow the baby *cannot* use only the one rattle when the two are held out for it. The two are just like *one* so far as baby is concerned. This seemingly innocuous observation is of no little consequence to a modern psychologist of at least one school of psychology.

But the difficulty about incidental observations is to know just what they *mean*. Thus, there comes a time in the life of almost every boy when he plays at make-believe "motors" in an all-absorbing way. You may observe that he plays the same game over and over again. For scores of times a day, for perhaps many months, he drives his car at leisure with a pan-lid for a steering-wheel and a walking-stick or poker for a brake. But, having observed this, it would be as well to know what is behind this monotonous repetition of the same game. Is it just harmless make-believe, a habit, or something that the boy likes very much, and therefore is prepared to play over and over again? Or is it something of a very different nature, a minor compulsion or obsession, something the boy cannot help himself doing? I shall refer later to a boy who played games that his mother thought were just the harmless pleasures of a boy, whereas, in point of fact, they were quite otherwise.

From observations, often overlooked by others, but to a psychologist sometimes pregnant with meaning, let us turn to some of the experiments made by psychologists. Let us take a girl—we shall call her Molly. She

is seated at a low table, and is looking at a perfectly plain grey board. A minute ago I had shown her a sheet of cardboard on which were pasted twenty small coloured patches of paper, four each of red, and blue, green, yellow, and black, placed in rows of four, the colours being in irregular order. That is, the first row contained the colours red, blue, yellow, green, and the second row, black, green, red, blue, and so on.

Molly only saw this sheet of colours for a few moments, and certainly had no time to remember very much about them. Yet now she is looking at the grey board, and can see the colour chart quite clearly, when, of course, it is really not there at all. I ask her to read off the colours one by one, and she does so. I say, "How many reds are there?" She counts, moves her fingers to help her to count them, and gives the correct answer. She is looking at an image of the chart all the time! There are many children like Molly, with this unsuspected facility, to which the name *eidetic imagery* is given. It is on record that a small child, having seen a picture of a crocodile for a moment or so, thereafter counted the number of its teeth quite accurately from her eidetic image.

A CURIOUS TRICK OF MEMORY

AN experiment of a very different kind, and of much greater significance for psychology, is as follows: Let us take Molly again, and having seated her comfortably, let us give her the following twenty-one tasks to perform one after the other:

1. Count backwards from 55 to 17.
2. Make a monogram of your initials.
3. Multiply 5457 by 6337 (in writing).
4. Print in block capitals your name and address.
5. Name 10 Christmas presents you would like to have.
6. Write out a verse of poetry.
7. Write 15 two-letter words.
8. Name any 10 liquids.
9. Draw a vase holding flowers.
10. Draw a rough map of England, and put in the approximate situation of London, Liverpool, Newcastle, Southampton, Hull, Bristol.
11. Name 8 things that are coloured yellow.
12. Write down the names of an author, a town, and a county, with names beginning with the same letter.
13. Name 12 animals.
14. Write down 15 words beginning with S.
15. Name any 10 foreign capitals.
16. Draw 5 objects in the room.
17. Describe any picture you have seen.
18. Write out the 12 times table.
19. Give the names of 10 flowers.
20. Write down 6 words to rhyme with *sing*.
21. Shut your eyes and write down the names of as many objects as you can remember seeing on the table before you. A time limit of 2 minutes will be allowed you.

In the first task Molly is asked to count backwards from 55 to 17. Having completed this she begins task 2, making a monogram of her initials. In task 3 she is asked to multiply 5457 by 6337, but before she has time to finish her task I stop her, without saying anything about why I have done so. Whereas tasks Nos. 1 and 2 were allowed to be completed, task No. 3 is *not* completed. So we go down the list, allowing some tasks to be completed (these we call C tasks), whilst others are stopped before they can be completed (and these we call U tasks). The list contains seven of each. When all twenty-one are finished in the above way, Molly is required to recall the tasks upon which she had just been engaged. She did not know beforehand that her "memory" was to be tested, and now she merely has to recall any of the tasks she can, just as they come to her mind.

It is found that, no matter what the tasks may be, or in what order they may be given, children recall on the average about *twice* as many of the U tasks as they do the C tasks. They recall the tasks which were interrupted before they could be completed, and tend to forget the tasks that were completed. At first sight this might not seem to be a very remarkable fact. But the mental processes behind it are profoundly significant, for just the same processes can be found to lie at the back of dreams on the one hand, and some forms of insanity on the other. The man who strives unceasingly for unattainable ends, and the mental conflicts that ravage the souls of so many men and women and children, have their prototype in these simple interrupted tasks (U tasks).

PROBING THE CHILD MIND

AND so we might continue to give illustrations of the methods used for obtaining facts about children. At the one extreme we might keep a complete record of everything that a single child does from the moment of its birth, taking many thousands of feet of films of its more interesting moments. We might have seven cameras focused on the one little mite as it kicks and plays in its play-pen, each photographing from its own angle, as was done in some lengthy experiments by a famous American child psychologist. Or, at the other extreme, we might test thousands of children with the same test, as was done a year ago when more than 30,000 school children in Scotland were tested for their intelligence.

From the facts gathered, by whatever means, attempts have to be made to draw general conclusions about the child and its psychology. Nor must we make the mistake of thinking that the child and the adult are the poles apart. There cannot be one complete psychology for adults and another different one for children. In almost every detail of a psychological kind there is something of the child in every adult, more perhaps than they are aware of, and something of the adult in every child.

Professor Pavlov, the famous Russian psychologist, has spent close on forty years doing psychological work with dogs as his subjects of experiment. And not one but scores more are researching on mice, rats, apes, and even on the humble farmyard hen. That psychologists should work with apes is understandable. Apes are so human that it

seems impossible nowadays that anyone could have doubted their dumb abilities to think and feel and behave as we do. But what shall we say about the rats that are trained to run through complicated labyrinths, miniature Hampton Court mazes, without making a mistake? And what, to be sure, shall we say about performing fleas? And hens—who would think that they have a psychology, and are studied most assiduously by some psychologists?

Of course we have known for a long time, ever since hens were hens in a farmyard, that some are “bad-tempered,” and cry a lie to all theories of equality in the hen-pen. The psychologist, however, goes much further than this, and shows that the processes that govern the thinking of adults and children seem to be operating also in the case of the lowly hen. We eat much more when we sit down to a table laden with good things than we eat when the table is niggardly served. It is the same with the hen. If a small pile of corn is put down in front of the hen when it is hungry, it will eat so much of it and then be replete. If the pile had been twice as big, it would have eaten much more before being appeased. It estimates its appetite by the size of the pile of corn in front of it.

But how do these experiments and observations on animals serve psychology? Is animal psychology the same in essentials as human? There does indeed seem to be a difference, but only one of degree. The ape thinks like a young baby, and we can learn lessons for human psychology of the very greatest importance from some of the experiments that have been made with rats and mice. This is particularly the case for some of the very fine experimental work of Professor Lashley in Chicago.

I mentioned the performing flea, but insects are always a topic of absorbing interest to a psychologist. So highly and socially organised are the ants that it has been said of them that if only they had been the size of rabbits they might have been masters of the world. There is a solitary wasp which, born alone, with no contact with any other wasp during its development from pupa to maturity, enters into the world and proceeds to kill just *one* particular variety of fly as prey. All solitary wasps of the same variety seek out and kill one and the same kind of fly as prey. It is common parlance that instinct explains the way in which the wasp performs its miracle of pre-ordained activity. But we should like to know exactly what instinct means, and whether human beings have any instincts of the same kind as those of insects, birds, and animals.

HEALING THE WOUNDED MIND

I HAVE introduced, very briefly, the three main divisions of psychology—adult, child, and animal. But each is capable of very much subdivision. There are pure and applied aspects of adult psychology, for normal and abnormal persons; and pure psychology is worked at by many different schools, each in its own particular way. But that there are all these different branches and schools of psychology should not lead us to conclude, as many do, that there is no general body of psychology about which many psychologists agree.

Abnormal psychology is, of course, a fascinating subject. There are hundreds of psychiatrists in England alone, medical psychologists whose work is in mental hospitals, caring for the insane and anti-social individuals that make up the most unhappy sections of the community. Other branches of psychology owe very much indeed to the work of some of these psychiatrists, and names like Dr. Kraepelin, the greatest of German psychiatrists, and Drs. Charcot and Janet of France, should be as well known to every well-educated person as is the name of their illustrious descendant, Professor S. Freud.

Perhaps the first lesson that abnormal psychology teaches us is that there is no clear line of demarcation between insanity and sanity. We are all a bit insane at times, if not usually, and even the most abnormal have glimpses of understanding and feeling. There must be thousands of men and women outside the walls of a mental hospital who see "visions" and hear "voices." There is only a difference in degree between the inane anger and rage of an abusive woman and the raving madness of the mania patient in hospital. Both might tear up their own and other people's clothes, break everything within their reach, and generally behave in a thoroughly terrible way.

PSYCHOLOGY'S PLACE IN PRACTICAL AFFAIRS

FINALLY there are many applied psychologies, still in their infancy, but developing strongly nevertheless, such as industrial psychology, and the psychologies of salesmanship, law, art, and, indeed, of every branch of human endeavour. What has been learnt in the pure psychologies of the adult and the child is applied to the practical affairs of man. Thus, in industrial psychology, young men and women can be advised as to what careers they are best fitted for. They are measured for some of the abilities and characteristics determined in the first place in pure psychology, and then, knowing that a high intelligence is certainly required for success in the study of law, the individual with a desire to become a lawyer can be advised according to the standard of his intellectual endowments, and similarly for all the many walks and rôles of life.

One other psychological field is of increasingly great importance. It is social psychology. There are psychologists who believe that psychology should begin by studying the social forces first, and that only afterwards shall we be able to understand the full psychology of the single adult or child. There can be no doubt about the strength of these social forces: we have only to witness the happenings at a general election in England, or in the many countries in Europe at the moment who have adopted dictatorships, to realise their significance. How is it possible, we wonder, that a whole nation can suffer a dictatorship, when a nation like ourselves, for the main part, would, at the moment, face it bewildered and unbelieving? Social psychology should be able to tell us something about these national matters. At the other extreme it has also to concern itself with the problems of children who are "social" whilst others are not, and with the flocking of birds. It should tell us why hens group themselves into a "family," with one hen "bossing"

the others. It should tell us, too, how this hen differs from the budding dictator of to-day.

It has been worth while, I hope, to look over the main fields of psychology in the above very brief and rapid way. It will be agreed that we have touched upon topics of complexity at least as great as those that physics or chemistry has to face. There is, perhaps, more of interest in a single thought than in everything that physics or chemistry has to concern itself with in what Professor Julian Huxley has called this very lop-sided scientific age. Psychology is in great need of some of the money and brains at present expended on researches in physics and the other sciences. It is a subject fraught with the greatest of consequences for mankind, and yet more money has been spent to fight the blighting progress of the Colorado beetle than is spent on all the psychological laboratories in the British Isles.

It is all the more to be marvelled at, then, that psychology has reached the position in which it can give a tolerable picture of these complexities along scientific lines. In the following pages I am to sketch out these scientific lines, these general findings and conclusions and explanations that make up the main body of modern psychology.

THE LINK BETWEEN EXPERIENCES: ASSOCIATIONISM

How, then, shall we begin this systematic Study of Psychology? The best method, perhaps, is by way of a little history. The story of Psychology begins with two laws of association, formulated by Plato and Aristotle over two thousand years ago. The first is called the *law of association by contiguity* (meaning "near together"). An example will readily show what is meant by this law. When I was twelve or thirteen years old, news was brought to me that a certain old friend of the family had committed suicide. I was playing Mendelssohn's "Spring Song" at that moment. And even to-day if I should think of this friend, or see his son, the "Spring Song" floats hauntingly into my mind. If I hear the song, I recall this man and the events attending that fateful Sunday morning. The song and the news are ineffaceably linked together. In the same way the word "black" is linked to "white," and "king" to "queen."

The law of association by contiguity concerns all such pairs of linked ideas. The "Spring Song" and the news of the suicide were experienced by me together, and, according to the law, I always tend to remember experiences if they occur together. If the two ideas or events occurring together, or shortly after one another, are A and B, then thereafter if I experience A alone, I shall immediately tend to recall also B, and *vice versa*. If the two experiences are very striking ones, the tendency to associate them will be the stronger. Otherwise, the more often I experience two things together, the more shall I tend to remember them as linked together—a law that our teachers used to rely upon when they made us learn poetry "by heart" by repeating the verses over and over again.

This law at once appealed to the psychologists who, with the rise of modern science, were searching for purely mechanical explanations of

psychological events. Thus, Dr. Hartley (1705-57) supposed that, to take the example of the "Spring Song" and the suicide, when I played the song, certain minute vibrations were set up in a particular spot in my brain, which in their turn gave rise to "vibratiuncles," movements which were responsible for the conscious state represented by my *knowing* or experiencing the tune. The news of the suicide set up corresponding vibrations and vibratiuncles. And since the two sets of vibrations occurred almost together (in point of *time*, but it was an easy slip to make it also the same point in the brain itself) they automatically became linked or fused together. Thereafter I had merely to cause vibrations corresponding to the idea of the "Spring Song," and these set going the vibrations which give rise to the ideas about the suicide.

The association of the two ideas had a counterpart, it was supposed, in the structure of the brain, a linkage between physiological impressions, each representing one of the associated ideas. It is not difficult to see, too, that not only separate and simple "ideas," but complicated and very tangled ones, could be supposed to be associated by virtue of this law. Thus, if I see the name of my native village or town, a vast complex of "memories" may come to my mind, these being like a network of associations interwoven about that name.

The second law of association is called association by *similarity*. Plato gave an example of the operation of this law—a picture of Simmias, he said, made him recall Simmias himself. It is widely held, however, that this law of association by similarity is just a variety of the law of association by contiguity. The picture of Simmias, and Simmias himself, are similar, so that the ideas I have associated about Simmias, and which would normally arise to my mind if he were before me in flesh and blood, are just as freely aroused by the picture.

UNWINDING THOUGHTS LIKE THREAD FROM A BALL

ASSOCIATIONISM was a broad movement in psychology, just as Marxism, for example, is a political movement. It had an imposing array of adherents, from Hobbes (1588-1679) and Hume (1711-76), the English philosophers, to William James (1842-1910), the American psychologist. It not unnaturally developed as a consequence of such a long history, but one of its greatest tenets was the above law of association by contiguity. It was fascinating to think, as this law beguiled one into thinking, that everything that one had ever experienced was linked together in a long chain, like a ball of the finest silk wound up in the brain, with one end in infancy, and the other winding on and on at the present moment, and that beginning at any part of the chain one could recall the associated items. All this linkage would be in virtue of the law of contiguity, since what I experience at this moment would be associated with what I experience in the next, and so on throughout one's lifetime.

This notion is far from dead and old-fashioned. Psycho-analysts still make use of it. When the analyst makes you recline on his couch, and asks you to "associate," he is making use of this principle. By unwinding the silken threads, so to speak, that represent one's mass of associations, the psycho-analyst helps one to remember the events of

childhood, to recall, by association, events that have become buried under the weight of more recent associations.

But if association by contiguity explained the way two ideas became linked together, and again linked to others in the above long chain, how did associationists explain the knowing or consciousness that I have of any item? It is one thing to associate the "Spring Song" and suicide together, but how did the mental content of the song itself, and the ideas I have of my friend, arise in my mind? The solution was found in *sensations*.

SORTING OUT OUR SENSATIONS

THE associationists held that certain very rudimentary sensations, ideas, or feelings, are produced natively in the mind by stimulation of it through one's senses—the eyes, ears, nose, taste-buds, hot, cold, pain, and pressure spots on the skin. These sensations were considered to be elements of consciousness, just as electrons are considered to be elements of matter. The thoroughgoing associationist believed that these sensations were themselves produced by purely mechanical and physical means.

Sensations were classified into those of sight, sound, taste, smell, pressure, warmth, cold, pain, movement, and others. Sight sensations were of two kinds, colours, and black and white. Red, yellow, green, blue, were primary colours, and these with black and white could be compounded into the 300 or so different colours that we experience. It was found that if a white disc is looked at for less than one-tenth of a second, it is not seen as pure white, but as grey instead. Likewise a coloured disc shown in the same way appears colourless. Again, some people are colour-blind—they have more or less no red or green sensations; some are yellow-blue, and others again totally colour blind. In the same way, after eliminating smell sensations (for it is well known that if we hold our noses we cannot distinguish the taste of a piece of onion from that of a slice of apple), there were supposed to be four elementary taste sensations or feelings—sweet, sour, salty, and bitter. About 500 different tastes could be supposed to be built up from these four elementary taste sensations. Turning to other sensations, we know that some persons are insensible to pain, just as there are those who are colour-blind or deaf. A Londoner recently had all his teeth extracted without feeling any pain. Another had his finger decimated, and could not feel even a twinge of pain.

Again, the tongue can serve as a tactual or "feeling" organ, giving rise to sensations that tell us something about the texture of the food we eat. Sloppy food has its own "feel," and there is a peculiar slipperiness about jellies, egg custards, etc. This tactual function of the tongue is apt to be overlooked when children's food is being prepared. We think too much of the hotness and coldness and flavour, and not at all about the "feel" of food—a neglect of no little significance, perhaps, in the dietary of children.

In all the above cases the sensations are connected with their appropriate sense organs, and the sensations are first aroused when these sense organs are stimulated. Sight sensations arise after certain waves of light

have impinged on the eye. But we can also call up *images*, visual and auditory, and perhaps of other sensory kinds, without the need for this external stimulation of the sense organs. And there are still other sensations for which we can find no sense organs or specific nerves, called the elementary *affections*, sensations such as pleasure and "unpleasure," excitement and tranquillisation, tension and relaxation.

We can now understand what is meant by Associationism, the great movement to which we have referred. Sensations were supposed to be the bricks, so to speak, of psychological activity; and association-by-contiguity was the mortar by which these bricks were held together. All mental activity was supposed to derive ultimately from these two, sensations and association. Not only were new colours compounded from the elementary colour sensations, but thinking, imagination, judgment, and the deepest intricacies of the human mind were supposed to be built up from sensations by the process of association-by-contiguity. Associationists believed that all mental activity could be explained by mechanics, by physical processes in time and space. They believed that the fundamental principles of psychology were those involved in the notions of "sensation" and of association-by-contiguity. These seemed to explain everything in psychology—a fitting conclusion, it was thought, to the progress of psychology down the twenty centuries of its development. This associationism is to-day far from dead. The psychoanalysts still continue to make use of its notions, and, with the added trappings that recent discoveries in physiology afford them, the modern behaviourists are also thoroughgoing associationists.

PROFESSOR PAVLOV'S PUPPET SHOW : BEHAVIOURISM

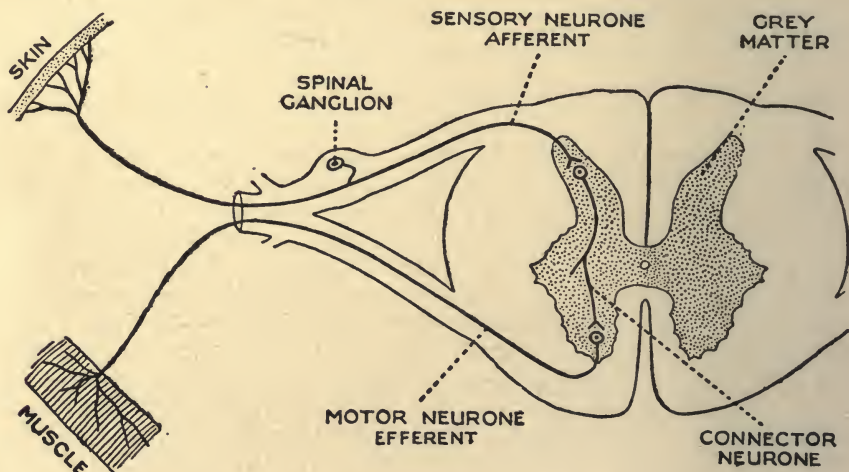
BEHAVIOURISM is the typical American's notion of what the science of psychology should be. It begins by throwing overboard the study of mental or psychical activities. Consciousness, sensations, ideas, and emotions, the behaviourist believes, cannot be studied scientifically. Instead, the scientific psychologist must follow in the footsteps of the physicists and physiologists; he must be a detached observer of behaviour, measuring it with yard-stick and stop-watch. Thus an emotion, which you or I think of as a peculiar mental state, is thought of by the behaviourist in terms of the panting heart, which can be recorded on a cardiograph, a blushing cheek, recorded by a selenium-cell attachment, quivering lips, blood changes, muscular paralysis—all of which are *measurable*.

All these, and still more subtle bodily activities, the hormones and internal secretions, are all that a scientific psychologist can concern himself with when he studies "emotions." Similarly for "thinking"—this has to be studied in the mouth; measurements have to be taken of the movements of muscles and changes in the larynx. The behaviourist does not deny that each individual has experiences that he calls "thinking" or "emotional." But he holds that whereas any number of physicists can study one and the same bar of metal, only one psychologist at a time can study an act of thinking, and that act must be his own,

because by no means can he observe the thinking in another person's mind.

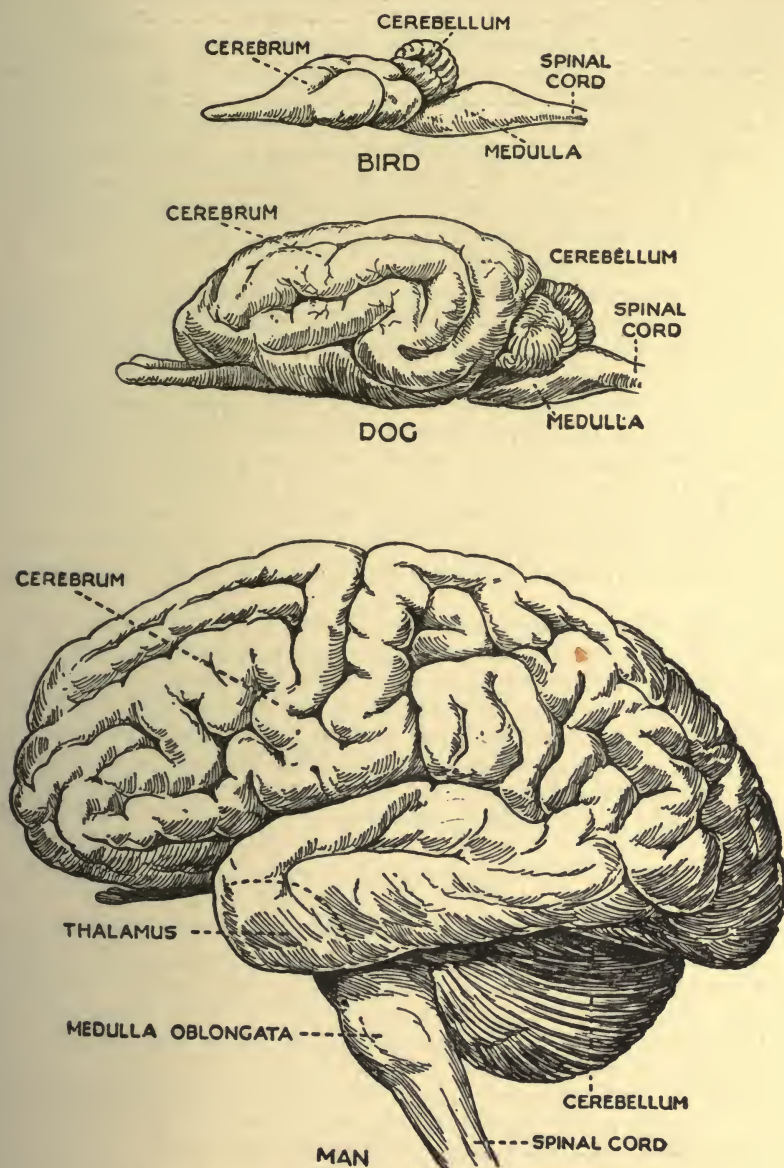
Just as the physicist has his electrons, and the associationist his "sensations," so, too, the behaviourist has his small units out of which he believes human behaviour is formed. His units are called reflexes.

If a threatening gesture is made near my eyes, my eyelids rapidly and automatically blink. The gesture is a *stimulus* that sets going a predetermined *response*, the blinking; and the chain of cause and its effect is called a *reflex*. Again, if I cross one leg over the other as I sit in a chair, and someone gives my knee a sharp tap below the knee-cap, my leg gives a jerk. Or, to give another example of hundreds having their ramifications in the human body, if I am hungry and I see an apple, my salivary glands will begin to function quite automatically, *i.e.* my mouth will water. Now physiologists have traced out what happens in such reflexes. In the case of the knee-jerk—and it is typical of all others—the skin is stimulated (the sharp tap below the knee-cap), as shown diagrammatically in Fig. 1. Thereupon a nerve current passes along a nerve track, called the afferent nerve, to the spinal cord (or to the brain, as the case may be), where, after passing through a network of other connector nerves and extremely fascinating junctions (called synaptic junctions), the nerve current flows into a nerve track leading from the spinal cord to the muscle (the efferent nerve) which,



1. THE PATH OF A REFLEX ACTION

so activated, makes the necessary response or reaction (the knee-jerk). The whole circuit, from stimulus to response, is called a *reflex arc*, and it is with units of this kind that reflexology builds up its explanation of all psychological behaviour. These units serve the same purpose in reflexology as sensations served in associationism. They are the bricks out of which all *behaviour* is built.



2. MAN'S BRAIN COMPARED WITH THOSE OF BIRD AND DOG

The drawing shows how much the cerebrum, the seat of intelligence, in the human brain preponderates over that part in a bird's and a dog's brain. The cerebellum, which is connected with the movements of the muscles, on the other hand, shows similar development in all three.

Let us see how the reflexologist or behaviourist manages this feat of explanation. It begins with Professor Pavlov's work on dogs, so that we might look for a moment at the brain of a dog, shown in Fig. 2. The top part of the brain—the cerebral cortex—is larger in proportion to the rest (the thalamus and medulla) the higher we mount up the scale of evolved animals. A fish, reptile, or mouse, has relatively little cerebral cortex, whereas in man it is by far the biggest part of the brain (see Fig. 2). The spinal cord is just a prolongation of the medulla, and just as there are connector nerves and synapses in the spinal cord, so the medulla and the thalamus, and the whole brain, are centres of still more reflex arcs and systems of arcs.

The medulla is, in this way, a kind of telephone exchange for nerves coming from all the visceral organs of the body—the heart, stomach, lungs, arteries, sex organs, and so forth. All the essential functions of life are under its immediate control, and they could not function without its control any more than the knee can jerk if the spinal cord is destroyed. The thalamus, in the same way, is intimately connected with one's emotions. The cerebellum, or lesser cortex, is specially concerned with all the muscles of the body. The cerebral cortex, the glory of mankind, is the seat of the associations about which we have said so much in the previous pages. It is the seat of learning and the arch-comptroller of all other parts and functions of the nervous system and body.

The reflex systems centred at the medulla, as we have mentioned, are specially concerned with the visceral organs upon which sheer living depends. Stimuli, coming from the visceral organs or sense organs, set going complex systems of reflex arcs, the end of which are specific reactions, notably related to food, and to sex activity. These systems of reflexes are innate, part and parcel of the animal or human being, born and developing along with it. Each system functions mechanically, or can do so, just like the knee-jerk reflex.

PAVLOV'S EXPERIMENTS WITH DOGS

PAVLOV holds that there are only a few of these complex reflex systems, namely, complex reflexes relating to food and food-seeking, to pugnacity, to active and passive defence, to freedom, to curiosity, to play, and to species reflexes such as sex and parental care. A matter of great interest is that if, to take the case of a dog, the cerebral cortex is destroyed and the dog still lives, it lives mechanically by way of these unconditioned reflexes. When it is hungry it will search unceasingly for food. It may not recognise food when it sees it, but as soon as it is fed the searching will cease and the dog may lie down and go quietly to sleep. It may then awaken and be strangely pugnacious, or it may romp about and play. If it now should be restrained in any way it will struggle until it is released, and if it is not released it may collapse in a paroxysm of fear. It may be dumbly curious, and perhaps sexually interested in another dog. Finally, hunger will call once more, and the whole process will repeat itself.

The dog will never learn anything. It will never learn to come for food

when the food-basin is rattled, to answer to a name, to go to a bed, to know the biscuit-tin when it sees it, nor to learn the thousand and one things that a dog acquires in its lifetime. It will live instead at the mercy of its *unconditioned* reflexes. It will be like a machine, working undeviatingly and inexorably towards mere living and propagation. These unconditioned complex reflexes are known to most psychologists by another name—the *instincts*, about which we shall have more to say later.

HOW DOGS CAN BE MADE TO RESPOND TO THE DINNER-BELL

UNCONDITIONED reflexes, their innate or inborn development, and their integration into complex systems, represent the first principle of reflexology. The second great principle is called *conditioning*. The favourite example of conditioning is that first described by Pavlov, in his experiments on the salivary reflex of the dog. As is well known, if a dog is hungry and it is shown a bone, its salivary glands begin to function—its mouth waters. But if, instead of displaying the bone alone, first a bell is rung, and *then* the bone is shown, and if this order is repeated a few times when the dog is fed, the salivary glands will ultimately be set going when the dog hears the sound of the bell alone. The bell now serves as a stimulus to set the salivary glands working, instead of the food itself.

This conditioning cannot take place, it would seem, without the operation of the cerebral cortex. It is here, somehow, that the conditioned reflexes (as these newly learnt responses are called) seem to be stored up. According to the reflexologists, or behaviourists, all higher intellectual activity is just a complex system of conditioned reflexes. Reflexes are the bricks, and conditioning the mortar in the behaviour structure of the human being. To be intelligent is to be able to make and retain these conditioned reflexes. Intelligence itself is but a complicated system of habits, acquired in the individual's lifetime.

For this reason Professor Watson, founder of behaviourism in America, has said that if he were given a dozen healthy babies, and full control of their growth, he could make of them what he would, one a genius, the other a low-grade defect, and so forth. Moreover, behaviourists are not afraid to try out their theories. Tender babies, fifteen months old, have been taught to emulate the man on the flying trapeze (so far as physical tricks are concerned); they climb up inclined planes, and go about the nursery on roller-skates.

LEARNING BY ROTE AND LEARNING BY REASON

NOW there can be no doubt that on the physical side there is much of truth in the work and contentions of the behaviourist. If we give our babies greater freedom, and put appropriate opportunities in their way, they can be taught a surprising range of tricks. But it may well be wondered whether these are built up in the purely mechanical fashion of conditioning. There can be, for the behaviourist, no mediation of a

mental kind in the process of learning these tricks, just as, for the old associationist, there was no mediation of thought-like processes when two ideas were associated. Perhaps we can appreciate some of the shortcomings of behaviourism if we first look at a few obvious facts that meant the death-knell to associationism.

Ebbinghaus (1850-1909), a famous German psychologist, used sets of nonsense syllables of the following kind to perform experiments on the law of association by contiguity :

| | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|-----|
| mif | . | . | . | zon |
| toz | . | . | . | nig |
| fem | . | . | . | bak |
| paf | . | . | . | yub |

One was supposed to have no ideas when one read "mif" or "zon," and if they were repeated in this order a sufficient number of times it was supposed that by sheer association the pair were learnt together, so that if someone said "mif," one would respond at once with the word "zon." Thousands of experiments were made with these nonsense syllables, and one of the greatest of experimental psychologists (Professor Titchener (1867-1927) said that they were the most important contribution to psychology since the days of Aristotle.

The trouble began when a student in a well-known laboratory read a list of nonsense syllables several hundred times without making a single association, without remembering a single pair of the syllables he had been reading ! He hadn't been told that he had to learn the list ! The associations were made with ease as soon as he knew that he was expected to make them. In the same way I might walk along a street every day of my life and yet I should be hard put to say how many shops there are and in what order they occur. I have perceived them hundreds of times together or in sequence, but they are not therefore associated.

Obviously, then, association by contiguity is not exactly the mechanical process it was supposed to be. Not only must we often make an *intention* to learn, we often cannot "learn" without performing other *acts* of a purely mental kind. Thus it would take me some time to learn the following list of numbers by heart by merely hoping that consecutive numbers would be associated one to the other if I repeated the numbers time and time again :

73485935725358

But if the same numbers are organised, if they are thought of as follows, it is much easier to learn the list :

7348 5935 725 358

The question then arises as to whether mental processes like thinking, judgment, and intention are not essential, and whether associations would ever be formed without such *acts* first being made. Perhaps even the dog cannot be conditioned to a bell unless it thinks in some way about it ; and who knows what thoughts have passed in the mind of

the performing flea before it learns its repertoire of tricks? On the other hand, there does seem to be something purely automatic and mechanical about the way some people are able to learn things by rote.

But having admitted this much that is very valuable in behaviourism, it still remains true that by far the greater part of what we learn "by heart" is dependent upon prior mental acts. If I make a firm intention to learn a piece of poetry, and if I think about and organise the material, if also I frequently try to recall what I have learnt, then it is certain that the learning will be greatly facilitated. But there are further difficulties about this matter which we leave for the moment. Meanwhile, since we have so far been told nothing about the processes that enter into the mental activities themselves, the *intentions*, the *judgments*, the *organisation*, and so forth, we have now to search for principles other than those of associationism and of behaviourism upon which to build up an orderly science of psychology.

THE CONSCIOUS MIND: BEING AWARE OF THINGS

WE begin this search by defining psychology as the science of the mind, and we shall consider the mind from two aspects: one, its activity at any particular moment, and the other the state that it has been in—its development from birth to old age, its structure and capacities. The first is the study of ~~consciousness~~, or states of awareness. The other is the study of the ~~structure of the mind~~. We shall begin with the former, with the experiences of which we are aware (and some we are not aware of) at any particular moment, with the teeming thoughts, desires, feelings, wishes, states of sleep, hypnotic conditions, that constitute the state of a person's mind from moment to moment. Some of these states last only a fraction of a second—thought, we say, has the speed of lightning, although, to be sure, a state of sleep seems to be constant for many hours. Again, only the individual himself can examine these states in any direct way. We can all *introspect*, some better than others—that is, look at our own conscious states much as a biologist looks at a section of a worm in a microscope. Admitting this, we can begin by classifying these various states of awareness. Three kinds of states have been known since the dawn of psychology—Cognitions, Feelings, and Volitions, or Conations, (what we know, what we feel, and what we will). We shall examine each class in turn, beginning with the cognitions.

Are there any straightforward laws, we have to ask, for cognition? Cognition includes our sensory perceptions, what we see, hear, taste; our images, whether visual, as in dreams, or auditory, as in the reverie of a music-lover; and our thoughts, the deductions we draw, the acts of reason we perform. Is there anything common to this wide range of experience? Are there laws of cognition that cover everything from the very simplest perception to the most intricate act of reasoning or the highest flight of the imagination? We shall see now that just as Newton put order into nature by his laws of motion, so the modern psychologist has made order out of the teeming masses of our cognitions.

The senses, as we all know, are the eyes, ears, nose, taste-buds of

the tongue, cold and heat spots on the skin, and subtle organs such as those concerned with resistance to pressure. It is through these organs, we believe, that we learn about the external world. The eyes tell us that the grass is green, a fire red, a cathedral large; the ears inform us that a band is playing outside, the church bell ringing, a baby crying in the street; and the nose is breathing in for us the honeyed smell of violets. Through the senses we learn that a fire is hot, and ice is cold.

But if we think about it twice we might convince ourselves that grass is not green, a fire is not hot, and ice is not cold. Physics tells us that the greenness of grass depends on the ether waves that reach the eyes. These stimulate the nerves leading from the eyes to the brain, and only somewhere in ourselves is the notion of greenness evolved. The human being is first and foremost a set of physical instruments, the senses receiving some of the myriads of ether waves and particle movements that surround him. Waves of air particles impinge upon the ear, minute particles reach and touch my organs of taste, smell, and pressure. Ether waves from the fire pass to the heat spots on my body.

Moreover, only a small fraction of all the existing ether waves affect my eyes or other organs. I cannot perceive wireless waves, X-rays, ultra-violet or infra-red rays. We may well wonder what the outside world would appear to be if our eyes could make use of all the ether wave-lengths, from 10-24 mm. of X-rays to the 10,000 metre wave-lengths of wireless, instead of being restricted as they are to a range lying between 0·0015 and 0·0008 mm.

WHEN WE MIGHT SEE WITH OUR EARS

EQUALLY surprising is the fact that the selfsame ether waves, say those coming from a red-hot fire, lead me to perceive redness if they enter my eye, and warmth if they fall on the heat spots on my body. The selfsame pressure can hurt me at one part of my body, and tickle me at another. What is perceived is decided by the particular nerves that are stimulated, and not by the ether waves themselves. If we could perform an operation, and interchange the nerves leading from the eyes and the ears, then we would hear with our eyes and see with our ears. Soft music, perhaps, would be heard as we looked at the fire, and a dream-like image perceived as we listened to a concert! We can well say, with Professor Spearman:

“Could, by some surgical operation, the sensory nerves be detached from their present receptors and interchanged with one another, then a voice might be seen or a face heard, a toothache might be converted into a taste of chocolate, or a blow of a fist into the fragrance of jasmine.”

Again, once stimulated, all the various nerves leading from the sense-organs act alike. Each afferent nerve merely carries a nerve impulse along its path, and the experimental work of Dr. Adrian at University College, London, has shown that all these nerve impulses are alike, whether they pass to or from the eye, ear, nose, or any other organ. Thus, somewhere outside the nerves themselves, perhaps in the

synapses between the nerves in the brain, the great work is done that leads to the mental experiences I have. Ether waves from an outside source, chemical processes in the eye, nerve impulses in the nerves leading to synapses, chemical processes in the synapses, all these intervene between the outside world and the mental state that is aroused within me.

From this discussion of the senses we meet at once the problem of reality. We believe that the apple tree we see is a photographic image of a real tree outside, that the fire is itself hot, and that the brass band we are listening to is itself making the noises we hear. We believe that the mental states we experience are exact representations of real objects in the world outside, that the brass band is not merely something emitting sound waves which, reaching my ear, give rise to mental states of noise. But by the same token we shall have to believe that the surgeon's scalpel is itself suffering pain, which it passes on to us when it cuts. And the feather will be enjoying tickling sensations, which it hands on to us in an appropriate way. The truth seems to be that the outside world merely emits waves and particle motions or pressures, and all the colours, pleasures, pains, tunes, and perfumes are creations of our own mental states. The world is apparently an attenuated mixture of electrons, protons, neutrons, positrons, deuterons, and ether waves, but we believe it is a world of sunshine, green hills, warm winds, and gently swaying trees.

CAN WE BELIEVE THE TESTIMONY OF OUR SENSES ?

NEVERTHELESS, we cannot but believe that the world outside is real, and that it contributes largely to our cognition. Dreams and visions, we feel sure, are certainly creations of the individual concerned, but the trees outside are not. The hallucinatory voices that so many saints and the mentally afflicted have heard are equally insubstantial things. How, then, do we distinguish between these and reality? The real object passes the test of many senses, for we not only see a tree but we can touch it, smell it, press against it, put our teeth into and even taste it and feel its warmth. Visions and hallucinations are not quite so accommodating. We seem to experience those mental states as real which pass the test of all the senses, and which we find that other people also experience apparently just as we do.

But here we shall leave the riddle of reality for the present, except to offer a reminder that although we seem to have drawn our deductions from physics and physiology rather than from pure psychology, we shall find that we arrive at the same conclusions from purely psychological considerations. We shall find that we ourselves contribute very largely to the experiences we naïvely believe come to us by way of our senses.

It seems easy to believe that the newborn baby experiences certain very rudimentary and poorly differentiated mental states. We cannot prove what they are. The young fawn runs unerringly at birth, and its perception seems to be well developed from the first day of its life. But the baby is certainly not so well endowed. Nevertheless, its sensory organs soon begin to function, in however dull and dim a fashion; and

we have to infer that these give rise to lowly mental states, and that the baby tends to become aware of them, conscious of them. Moreover, it soon becomes aware that it is itself the liver or experiencer of these mental states. My daughter, at 21 months, was often heard to say with evident satisfaction, "Baby eats," "Baby shouts," "Baby crying," fitting the actions to the words. *She is not only aware of eating, shouting, and crying, but knows that it is herself who is the experiencer.*

It is a mistake, however, to suppose that the young child perceives the outside world through its senses just as we do. My daughter had apparently never perceived shadows until she was 21 months old. There are many mentally defective children who have never yet perceived that various coins are different in size and colour. It seems well, however, to formulate a general law that we tend to be aware of sensory experiences, and that at the same time we are aware that *we* are the experiencers.

The obvious law of awareness also applies for adults. We tend to become aware of mental states produced by way of the senses, and we are also aware that *we* are the experiencers. We are also aware at once of many of the *characters* or characteristics of the experiences: we see a tree at once as tall, a stone as hard and solid. Thus, I may awake in a strange bedroom and see a white-robed woman in the room. After rubbing my eyes, and taking stock of the situation, I find that I am merely looking at the window curtains lit up by the moon. The long white curtain has its *characters*, its flowing form, its whiteness, its solidity, and I am aware of some of these immediately in the white-gowned woman I think I see, with her flowing dress, her solid shape, her tall stately figure bent slightly towards me and swaying gently.

OUR MEAGRE "MENTAL SPAN"

BUT it would be unfortunate if we became aware at one and the same moment of all the various mental states that the senses could lead us to experience. We read our newspaper without noticing the raucous wireless or the chatter of others in the room. We listen to a friend without hearing the tear and rush and noise of the train. That is, we select what we want to attend to. But selection is a matter of volition and not essentially of cognition.

It is, however, a law of cognition that we cannot attend to very many separate things at once. Even for such people as music-hall performers, who have spent years in learning to do things simultaneously, if more than five or six dots are printed on a card and exposed to their regard for only a fraction of a second, and if they rely purely upon their eyes, and do not *think* about the dots, then they will be unable to say how many dots there were on the card.

Our *mental span*, as it is called, is limited to about six different items, and this span is nearly the same for all individuals, stupid and intelligent alike, and cannot be improved upon by practice. We are limited in span for touch, hearing, and smell, as well as for sight.

On the other hand, if we perform a little thinking, we can "span" many more than six separate dots at a time. Thus, if the following dots

are exposed for a fraction of a second to a person who has not seen them before, he will probably perceive them all at once as three sets of four dots : When we organise the dots we offset the restrictions imposed upon us by our meagre span. The long and arduous training we have had in reading has resulted in groups of letters that we recognise at a glance, and we "take in" the meaning of paragraphs and phrases without having to read all the words contained.



3. DOTS THAT FORM FOURS

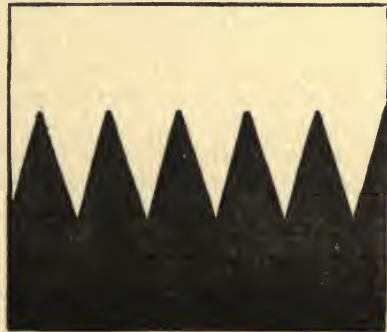
Similarly with hearing. All this shows a vast organisation built up from the mere simple physical waves and the sentient states that they might give rise to in the minds of a naïve or untutored individual.

THE CUP THAT JEERS

WE can best begin to discuss the laws of organisation by looking at the drawing of a cup below. At first it looks like a white cup or goblet on a black background. But if we look at it again, it is a drawing of two black profiles facing each other on a white background. The



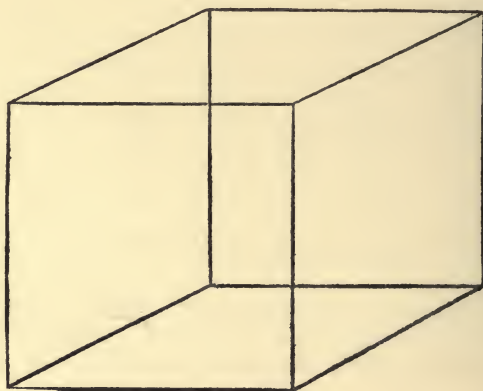
4. THE CUP THAT JEERS



5. PYRAMIDS OR CANOPY?

physics of the drawing does not alter, but we see it in two different ways.

When we see the cup it appears to be standing slightly away from the paper and background. The cup is technically called the *figure*, and the rest of the drawing is its *ground*, and, alternatively, when I see the two profiles jeering at each other, they are the figure, and the rest is the ground. In the same way, Fig. 5 can be seen as a row of pyramids, or the top of a black fence, or as a white tooth-edged canopy hanging downwards. The set of dots, organised into groups of four (p. 21), make a figure on a white ground, and, as in all these cases, if we look at the dots carefully we shall see that the figure appears to stand out from the ground with a solidity of its own. This is well shown in the following example :



6. ELUSIVE PERSPECTIVE

The drawing is the same all the time, but it can be seen as a figure now in one, and now in another, perspective. We could give any number of these figures-and-grounds (or "wholes," "configurations," *gestalten*, as they are variously called). According to the present-day Berlin *Gestalt* psychologists, our perceptions, visual or otherwise, are organised on this plan of a figure and a ground, and this is the native, instinctive way the mind organises its sensory data. The human being, according to this view, has an invincible and untaught and unanalysable ability to perceive only *wholes*, *figures*, on a *ground*. These wholes are not built up from elements like sensations by processes such as association, but simply pop into the mind intuitively, like bolts from the blue.

THE PART INTUITION PLAYS IN OUR PERCEPTIONS

BUT this does not mean that every *whole* or *gestalt* is independent of past experiences. It is true that we often know what a paragraph means at a glance, and that the meaning is a figure on the ground of sentences and letters. But this meaning is the consequence of a long,

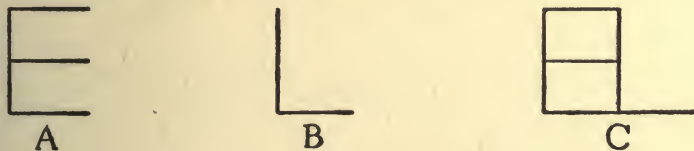
slow process of training and teaching. The following experiment shows how new *gestalten* are built up in the course of only a few minutes' practice. A sheet of paper is taken, containing mixed capital letters, row after row, of the following kind :

A X T K I L O P X T G O K I J N O X P O T

We then proceed to train ourselves to cancel out all the letters X, O, and I, as we come to them. At first we perceive most of the other letters besides X's, O's, and I's. But with practice we see only the letters we wish to cancel, standing out in groups of three or four at a time, each group a *gestalt* on a background of the other undifferentiated letters. So it is, although with very much more practice, that we are able to grasp the meaning of a complicated paragraph at a single glance.

Children can be taught to read by "wholes," by sentences instead of by the old method of separated letters like c-a-t, or f-a-t-h-e-r. But so taught, a child may experience difficulty, later, when it is asked for the meaning of a separate word. It may be unable to spell separate words, although it can write sentences. I have recently heard of cases of this kind where parents have complained that their children cannot play the game *Lexicon*, even though they have been taught to read. They had been taught to read by the "whole" method and now cannot recognise that f-a- could be the beginning of the word "father." In short, these children have yet to learn how to spell, and have yet to know the meaning of separate words—words which enter into sentences that they can read, and the meaning of which they grasp.

The *Gestalt* psychologists, then, teach that much in our perceptual life seems to be experienced to some extent intuitively, in an instinctive way. They remind us, too, that a perception is no mere sum of parts. Thus, the third figure below need not be merely the additive sum of the first two figures. They would say that there is something intuitive



7. THE EXTRA SOMETHING

about the composite figure, something put there by the individual. No explanation is offered for this intuitive something ; for the *Gestalt* psychologist, it falls out of the blue and is inexplicable. But we have already seen that "wholes" can be built up by practice, and we suspect that most instances mentioned by *Gestalt* psychologists have been so determined. We could not perceive the *cup that jeers* if we had not already built up notions about cups so drawn on paper, and similarly for faces drawn in profile. As in the case of reading, vast experiences lie at the back of these perceptions. We have still to ask, of course, just *how*

experience has functioned in this way. But in whatever direction we may proceed, from the particular to the more general, or *vice versa*, the *Gestalt* psychologist would say that the processes are interwoven through and through with *gestalt* formations, with new wholes, each involving inexplicable features.

THE ENGLISH POINT OF VIEW

THE *Gestalt* psychologist cannot say, except physiologically, how the new *whole* is constructed—that is, why he calls it “intuitive.” Certain British psychologists, however, have discovered a little more about the *modus operandi* of these *wholes*. The associationists believed that perceiving and thinking were explained in terms of association by similarity and by contiguity at bottom; the *Gestalt* psychologists point out that psychologically this is far from what really takes place, and they replace associationism by intuitionism. But Englishmen, at least, can rarely believe in intuition for very long without wanting to explain it. Let us see, then, what this English point of view is.

If a child sees two aunts, and notices for itself that one is very much stouter than the other, or richer than the other, or a better sport than the other, what is the nature of this noticing? Does it just see a very stout aunt near a very thin one, and does a *gestalt* arise intuitively in mind, in which the one aunt is a figure and the other a ground? Or, if I perceive the two drawings A and B below, and then I conclude that A is upside-down with respect to B, how have I drawn the conclusion?



C



B



D

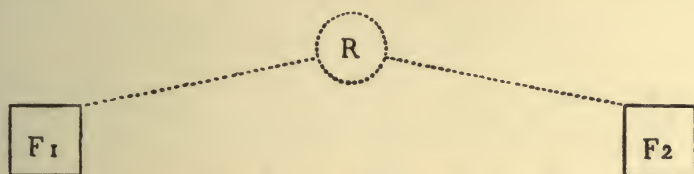


8. THE UPSIDE-DOWN TEST

9. A TEST OF LIKENESSES

Or, again, if I look at the drawings opposite C, and then at those opposite D, and if I observe that all those opposite C are alike because they are drawn with full lines, whilst those at D are also alike, in a different way, because they are all drawn with dotted lines, what are the processes entering into this thinking?

The English psychologist, Professor C. Spearman, has suggested that when a person is aware of any two items (two perceptions, two sets of ideas or thoughts, two feelings or two conclusions, etc.), he tends immediately to *educe* (or draw out) a *relation* between them. This relation is intuitive in nature : so far as we can understand, it can receive no prior explanation in terms of other psychological processes acting at the moment, just as the *gestalt* is supposed to be intuitive. But whereas the *gestalt* or *whole* arises intuitively without prior awareness of parts about which the eduction takes place, in the case of *eduction* of a relation, there is usually a perception or awareness of parts, about which the eduction takes place. This, according to the Spearman psychologists, is the prototype of all cognitive organisation. It is one of the ways in which *new* cognitive experiences are produced. It can be represented as follows :



10. HOW THE SIMPLE THOUGHT (R) IS MADE

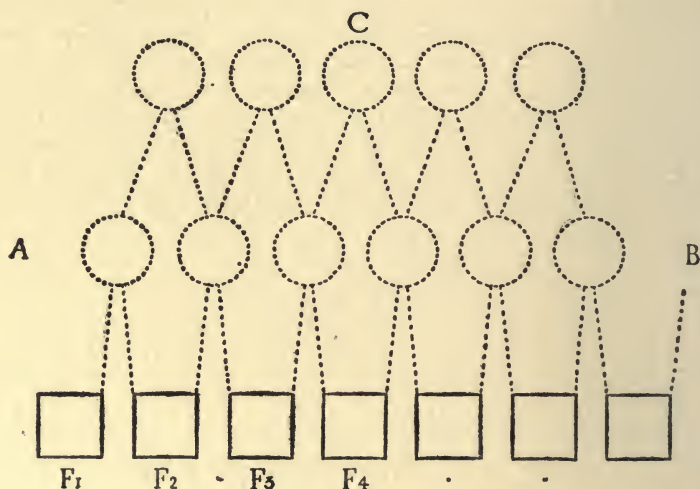
F_1 and F_2 , technically called the fundamentals, represent the two items first in awareness, and R is the relation educed between them. The various relations that can be educed have been discovered. When a child educes that one shape is upside-down compared with another,¹ an eduction that some mentally defective children never seem able to make, the eduction is called *spatial*. Although it has the same nature, this spatial relation is not the same experience as a *likeness* relation such as we educe between full-lined or dotted drawings.¹

HOW A BABY MAKES COMPARISONS

SOME of the early eduations of a child are of great interest. At 1 year 4 months old my daughter always turned pictures of horses, people, engines, etc., up the right way, as though she could clearly educe the difference between the right way up and the wrong way up of a person, or horse, or tree. At 1 year 10 months she first began to educe big-little relations : of two grapes, one large and the other *very* small, she would call the latter "tiny"; the same response was given for two baths, two animals (cat and kitten), and two baskets, etc. But only things that were *alike* in the first place, both grapes, or baths, or the same animals, were compared in this way. She could not say which was smaller, a large orange or a very small apple. And, similarly, the two items compared had to be strikingly different in size for the eduations to be made. One grape had to be extremely small, and the one bath was 6 feet long, whilst the other was a baby's.

¹ See Fig. 8, p. 24.

The diagram on page 25 is the simplest way in which eduction of relations takes place. As they occur in adults they are complicated in at least three different ways. Two of these ways are shown in the following diagram :



11. HOW COMPLEX THINKING IS DONE

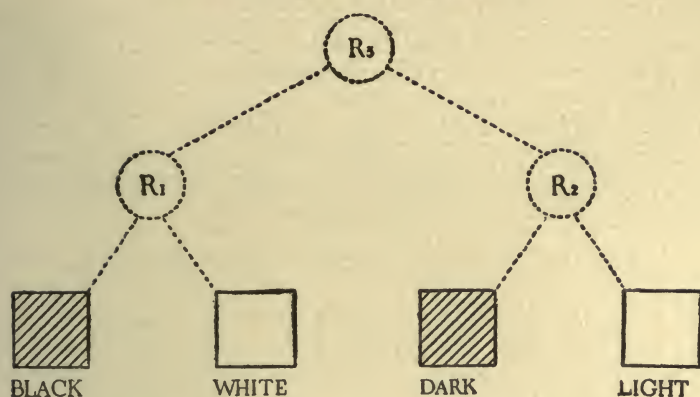
The same system of relations might be educed in a strata form, one fundament being compared with another, and then with another, and so on as from A to B in the diagram. This may occur in the case of comparing the three full-lined or three dotted-lined drawings of the figure on p. 24. Or, having educed relations *along* one strata, further relations can be educed between the relations already educed, and so on in an increasing hierarchy, strata *above* strata as at A upwards towards C. Thus, let us look at the following analogy :

Black : White :: Dark : Light

We may educe that Black is the opposite of White, and also that Dark is the opposite of Light, and then at another strata we may educe that these two relations are themselves alike. It could be represented as in Fig. 12 on the page opposite.

HOW THE MINDS OF THE INVENTOR AND NOVELIST WORK

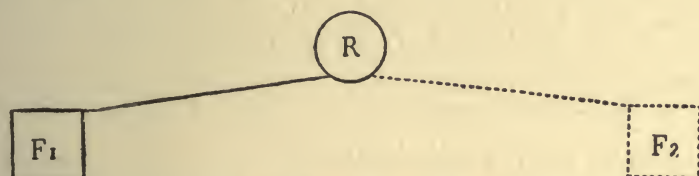
Two important laws of cognition have now been described, that of *awareness*, and that of eduction of relations. We have hinted, too, that the *gestalt* viewpoint about cognition might be resolved into the above two laws, together with another somehow dependent upon visual or auditory or verbal, or any other imagery. But there is a third most important law of cognition that is also due to Professor Spearman, called



12. HOW THE MIND DISTINGUISHES AND COMPARES

This simple diagram shows how all logical deductions are made. The mind perceives that black and white are different (R_1), and that dark and light are different (R_2); it next perceives that the pairs are different in the same way: both couples are opposites (R_3).

the law of *correlate eduction*. It states that if I am aware of a fundament (or tend to be) and a relation, I shall tend to educe a correlate fundament. That is, if one F_1 and the relation R are given, we tend to educe a fundament F_2 which, together with F_1 , gives the relation already in mind, as represented by the following :



13. THE MISSING FUNDAMENT

Thus, the given fundament might be a light beige colour that I have never seen before, and the given relation might be that expressed as "a similar colour and tone, but twice as dark," and it is possible for me to *imagine* (as we say) a colour twice as dark as the original one. The newly imagined colour is not culled from my memory, for I may not have seen the colour before. It is my own invention, so to speak. The inventions of a man like Edison, the music of a Delius, the novels of a Mary Webb, all the creative and imaginative activities in the arts and sciences and in everyday life, seem to be woven through and through with this process of correlate eduction.

Organisation, then, seems to depend on these processes of eduction. Instinctively we educe relations between things, and correlate eductions too. Our perceptions, visual or otherwise, our deepest thoughts and happiest flights of the imagination depend on these processes at bottom.

They will depend, undoubtedly, on other things besides, on training, on mental imagery and habits, but education seems to be the essential process. The only doubt is that some of our perceptions are already organised in a generalised way that we cannot yet clearly specify, instinctively. The perception of space seems to be of this nature. But organised perceptions of this kind must have been developed in the course of man's long history, just as new *gestalten* are developed in his lifetime (as we saw in the case of the Cancellation experiment).

HOW IMAGINATION "EDITS" OUR PERCEPTIONS

TURNING from the processes to their products, we have found convincing evidence that what we perceive need bear little relation to the physical things outside us. The *gestalt* groups of letters in the Cancellation experiment are very different from those printed on the paper. In the same way, at the cinema we really look at series of stationary pictures. The same still picture is thrown several times on the screen, with dark intervals between each; but we see movement in every subtle shade and degree. There is certainly no physical movement there, so that it must be the product of our imagination (as we say). It is not, as is popularly believed, due to the fusion of one picture with the next—the dark intervals, and other features of the projection are actually intended to prevent this fusion, which normally leads to "blurring."

Again, if we look out of one eye only it is physically impossible to see things in three dimensions. Instead, everything should appear to be flat, as though printed on a sheet of paper. But we certainly imagine we see things in three dimensions. If we look out of a window we can see that a building outside is only as big as the window-pane near us, yet if the window-pane is not there to remind us of this fact, we see the building as the large structure we know it to be when we are near it.

In this way we seem to judge all our sizes by the sizes normally perceived when we can touch them, or when we are near them. A person at the other side of the street still appears to be six feet tall, yet we need only hold up a finger-tip, and we can see that the finger-tip is taller than this six-footer. The camera never makes mistakes of this kind. It is interesting to think that if a person could live all his life and never be nearer than fifty yards to other human beings, the first time he came within touching distance of a group of people he might still think that he was a giant and the other people pigmies.

WHAT IS MEMORY?

THE old belief was that our memories are somehow stamped in the brain, and the modern behaviourist can only amplify this by saying that what is stored in the cerebral cortex and its bodily connections is a vastly complicated system of conditioned reflexes, all ready for discharging under appropriate stimulation. According to this view, my "seven times" arithmetic table is represented by certain reflexes and

their muscular endings : when the button is pressed, so to speak, my muscles gabble off "seven times one are seven," and so forth. There is something akin to truth about this, perhaps, for much that is learnt by rote.

The view that "memory" is represented in the brain by *engrams*, or *dispositions*, is of this same physiological nature. Once an idea is conscious, it is psychical in nature : but when it is no longer conscious it ceases to be psychical, and leaves only a physiological impression, engram, or disposition. But it might also be held that after ceasing to be conscious an idea becomes *subconscious*. By this we mean that it is still of a psychical nature, but too faint for us to be aware of it. It might even be held that every cognitive activity we have experienced continues throughout our lifetime to persist subconsciously, although with infinitesimal intensity. In point of fact, however, we can only say that *cognitive experiences, by occurring at all, tend to occur later with greater ease. This is the first law of "memory."* To some extent, therefore, we "remember" all our cognitive experiences, just because they have occurred.

But common sense tells us that we really remember, in fact, very little of what we have cognised throughout our lifetime. Think of the myriads of cognitions we have on any one day ! How few we remember ! But this is because of the operation of a second law : *cognitive experiences which are the more clearly (consciously or unconsciously) motivated, or volitionally determined, have an additional "memory" value.* Thus, the interrupted tasks (p. 4), we found, were remembered more readily than the completed tasks. The *wish* (a volitional matter) to complete the tasks had not been fulfilled, and this apparently gives additional memory value to these interrupted tasks. Likewise, we remember those things most which we *will* to remember, as was seen in the case of the experiments with nonsense syllables (p. 16). It is the cognitions that matter most to us, to our volitional life, our desires, motives, wishes, urges, instincts, no less than to our deliberate will, it is these that are retained especially well. Thus, when Professor Freud says that we remember everything we have experienced, from the moment of our birth, and that psycho-analysis can bring these "memories" back, he is referring to only those "memories" which are governed by this second law of memory.

Again, the psycho-analyst holds that all our culture is a *sublimation* of instinctive impulses. Our sublimations, that is the interests we have acquired, the knowledge we have gained, have behind them the content of our "memory" : and this, in so far as it is enduring, could only have been built up on a foundation of volition-like processes. As we shall see, the dynamic instincts are of this volition-like nature, at bottom the very kind of psychological construction which our sublimations could only be built upon.

There are at least three stages to distinguish between in what is popularly called "memory." First, there is the *impression* stage, when we cognize either consciously or subconsciously (as when we perceive a friend in a street and only afterwards realise that we have passed him without consciously recognising him), or perhaps when we merely

repeatedly move certain muscles over and over again and so impress certain behaviour upon ourselves represented by the poetry we are learning by heart. Next, the retention stage; either a state persists subconsciously, or a static pattern has been embossed into the body as a system of reflexes. The subconscious persistence, of course, may have its nervous counterpart, as electronic or other electrical conditions.

The next stage is that in which these persisting states can be re-activated under certain conditions, and we are said to "recall," "re-produce," or "remember." The possibilities present themselves that we probably cognize without much truly being retained, and much might be retained without our ever being able to recall it, and we can never determine how much we "remember" without actual reproduction. The behaviourist's reflexes can only fade away with time, as memory seems to do. But our notion of a subconscious mind is far from that of a static set of stamped-in patterns representing our memory. Sub-conscious activities are obviously, if we believe in them at all, like conscious ones in respect of dynamic flux—we think over things subconsciously as well as consciously. Thus, the memories of my youth may be very different now compared with my actual experiences at that time, because they have been worked over subconsciously since my youth (which is just what we mean by saying they have been worked over in my subconscious mind).

Yet that some things are "remembered" seems obviously true. There is still one other process that might explain very much of what we *believe* we remember, as well as much that we believe we had forgotten. It is the process of correlate education. Often we can be misled into thinking that we are recalling something previously experienced, when really we are educating a new experience by way of correlate education. If I try to recall what I did last year on holiday some vestiges of persisting states may be aroused, and notably those volitionally determined, about which something has to be said later, but more often than not I may fill up these vestiges by means of correlate educations, and confuse these with true "memories." This, in any case, is a nice way out of the difficulty of a mind stored with an infinite number of ready-to-hand "memories." We need only remember a little, and we invent the rest.

TWO EARLY PSYCHOLOGISTS PROPOUND A STRANGE PARADOX

WE have said a great deal about the nature of cognition, and it is now time to describe the nature of "feelings" and of volition. By "feelings" we mean experiences such as pleasure, anxiety, anguish, joy, sorrow, apprehension, and fear. These are mental experiences, like cognitions, but with a different quality. It is a matter of great interest to ask whether they fit the same laws as do the cognitive experiences. It was said that cognition begins by way of the senses. Have our feelings any organs, then, comparable with the eyes, ears, nose, etc.? Feelings seem to be intimately connected with physical behaviour: we feel sorrow and sob at the same time, we feel shy and blush, we feel afraid



Man. Psych.

[Facing page 30]

A VISION OF CREATIVE GENIUS

A symbolical design by the painter-poet, William Blake.

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and our hair stands on end, we feel excited and our whole body seems to quiver. It is not surprising, therefore, that psychologists have sought for a causal connection between these physical activities and feelings.

James, in 1884, and Lange, in 1885, put forward the theory that feeling is merely the conscious state of which these physical activities are the sense organs. Just as the sensation of redness requires the eye, in the first place, before it is experienced, so a feeling of fear would depend in the first place upon nervous currents reaching the brain from the hair that stands on end, or from the cheeks that blanch, or from similar bodily behaviour. According to this view, when we feel sorry for ourselves this is because we are weeping: the tear glands send their little messages, drop by drop, to the brain, and these, somehow, are transformed into the mental experience, the feeling of sorrow. In the same way, when we are running away from danger, the fear we experience is produced by the running. Which, most of my readers will agree, seems very silly.

WHY WE FEEL DEPRESSED

IT is true that feelings of fatigue, hunger, and visceral feelings generally, seem to depend on physical changes. But what we have learnt from the study of cognition should warn us that the mental experiences of a "feeling" kind can bear no relation to the crude bodily actions: somewhere the feelings arise, but they are mental acts *sui generis*. We might be sure that they will not be tied like slaves to any such crude bodily activities. Just as we can imagine we see things, and just as we put far more into our perceptions than exists in the universe outside us, so we might expect that our feelings will be free from any rigid domination of activities like that of hair that stands on end or a cheek that blanches. More often than not, we first *feel*, and then the bodily actions follow. We feel shy, and then the blush floods our face and neck. We feel afraid, and then the hair stands on end.

There are many unhappy people in the world who feel continually depressed, or who suffer from an indescribable anguish and anxiety all day long. The physiologist looks for hormones in their blood-streams, and believes that he has found in them the cause of the depression or anxiety. The psychologist, however, whilst admitting a correlation between these hormones and the mental states, would rather look for purely psychological causes, and sees as much or more reason to believe that the feelings have caused the greater secretion of hormones. The feelings of depression and anxiety are so devastating, take up so much of the sufferer's personality, that the psychologist wants to know about them and not be put off by vague theories that they are caused by hormones and the like. The psychologist's viewpoint is that if such processes can be shown to enter into feelings, they are only links in the causes that have led up to the way we feel, and we may be sure that man has liberated himself from them by now.

Are there any known laws, then, about feelings? Can they be organised, as perceptions and knowledge are? Are there any processes

for feeling, like those of education for cognition? We shall have to answer these questions later, when they are discussed again in the light of the facts that have to be described about emotions and instincts. For the present, therefore, we leave feelings, and turn to volition.

Volition is a word that most psychologists are nowadays careful to avoid. By volition we mean acts of at least apparent free will, like choosing, deciding, and "willing."

THE GRIM PERSISTENCE OF THE WILL

WHAT are the laws of volition? The first is that *volition is the more truly free, the more it is made on the basis of cognition, of knowledge and reason*. The more truly conscious the event, the more essential is volition to action. *The next law is that having decided, or "willed" an act, the action contemplated tends to be put into operation*. The retort to this will be that we often decide to get up in the morning, and yet the intention is rarely immediately successful. Often, too, the more strongly we *will* to do something, the less do we succeed. Nevertheless, we do ultimately get out of bed, and when we have done so, it must have been prefaced by an effective volition. (Which, admittedly, seems like being wise after the event.) And, what we all know as "will-power" is not the same as the volition under present consideration.

The third law of volition seems to be that, once begun, the willed act will tend to continue until it has been fulfilled or completed. This is true of the impulses and motives that are deep down in our minds, the instincts about which we are to hear something later. But it seems also as true of any of the actions we have begun, any of the activities we have chosen to begin, any act of volition. An example of this was mentioned in an early section in connection with the experiment with the twenty-one different tasks. The child resolves to do task No. 1, and proceeds with its performance. If the task is completed, the volition ceases to have its *determining tendency*. But if the task is interrupted before completion, then the tendency still remains to complete it.

This law is fraught with the greatest consequences for man. A wish is but half-way to a willed act; and, as the psycho-analyst has shown, deeply unconscious "wishes" function as though they were willed acts. The wish-fulfilment theory of dreams put forward by Professor Freud and many of the strange obsessions and disturbances of life, have behind them the working of this law of volition.

I can now raise the topic of *conation*. Conation means, according to dictionaries, action by or through volition, and this is precisely what I have expressed above as the third law of volition. But very few psychologists ask themselves for laws of volition. The struggles we make to succeed in life, the purposes we pursue, these we call conative, and we can see some degrees of volition behind all such actions. But for the behaviourist these are merely a matter of organised reflexes, all highly and rigidly determined physiologically, bodily and muscularly, without any possibility of volition entering to upset this nicely balanced machine. He points out that when we *strive*, the muscles move, the legs strain, the heart pants, and these are essential features of conative activity. The

associationists would add that since these bodily activities give rise automatically to *feelings*, lo ! feelings are the backbone of conation.

These associationists, and many psychologists to-day, hold that conative activity can be reduced to cognition and feelings, and that there is no such thing as a volitional act. When I decide to post a letter, according to this view, I bring to my mind an image of the post-box and of myself posting the letter—all purely a cognitive matter. I then remember to post the letter, just as I remember and recall anything else. Or suppose that it is the close of a three miles' race, and that the runner is striving with every ounce of energy to maintain his lead. He wills, strives, desires to win. This intense striving is undoubtedly accompanied by many profound bodily changes—the hands are clasped, the jaw is set, breathing is laboured, muscles tortured ; he suffers, feels pain, as well as grim elation and satisfaction at the thoughts of success. He clearly holds in mind, too, the tape towards which he is striving. From the beginning of the race, and long before it, he has imagined himself breaking the tape, has pictured the cheering crowd and anticipated the pleasures of success.

All these together, the image of the goal ahead, the physical activity and the accompanying feelings, constitute conation—so the behaviourist and the associationist believe. In addition I would add the still small voice of volition, which decided in the first place to run the race, and which still sets its seal on tactical matters in the course of the race—that is, as a result of cognition, decisions have to be made during the course of the race (as when the runner has to make a “spurt,” or “take it easy”), and the decisions put into operation are volitional acts.

THE BUSY WORKSHOP OF THE HUMAN MIND

Now that we have discussed the main divisions of the mind, we can go on to consider particular abilities and show how they may be measured and tested. Cognitions, as we saw, are a broad group of activities seemingly different in quality from feelings and from volitions. But it is possible to classify cognitions further into several types. Plato, for instance, considered that there were two kinds of cognitive activities—the *Sensory* and the *Intellectual*. The perception of a picture would be largely a sensory cognition, whilst arguing out a proposition would be an intellectual one. Intellectual activities were later subdivided into those of a *conceptual*, *judging*, and of a *reasoning* nature, and there were added others, the *memories* and the *imagined* activities, as well as those specially involving *attention* and *speech*. The word reasoning thus stood for all the activities of a similar kind, namely, those involving syllogism, inference, deduction, and the like. Others also subdivided it into scientific, as distinct from logical, and again as distinct from theological reasoning.

There can be but little harm done by so classifying activities, so long as we remember the limitations of this method. The classifications, in the first place, are not in the least necessarily for the *psychological* characteristics of the cognitions—rather as in the case of reasoning, the activities were classified on logical or on philosophical grounds. Whatever else we want psychology to be, we want it to be free from the very narrow

confines of logic and the ever-doubtful ones of philosophy. Further, there is small point in classifying activities indefinitely. Rather, we want to know to what end such classification is pursued.

In a thoroughly practical way, the modern experimental psychologist has developed a scientific method for investigating the psychology of the various cognitions: he tentatively accepts a classification, and then tries it out, or tests it, to see whether it is really psychological, and not a mere exercise in classification.

This is the method of individual psychology. The individual psychologists, of whom I am one, make their psychology depend on the measurement of abilities; from these they find hints of the most essential and important psychological processes entering the various abilities. In due time, too, they will subject these processes to still further experiment and measurement. This process, we believe, cannot but be the backbone of a truly scientific psychology. In any case, let us see how it works, beginning with activities that we might reasonably classify under the heading "memory."

HAVE YOU A GOOD MEMORY?

WHAT kinds of memory activities are there? There is all the body of our disposable knowledge—the arithmetic we have learnt, and so forth. There is the massive body of information that we can give retrospectively—the memories, as we call them, of our day-to-day experiences. We might ask individuals to learn pieces of poetry, etc., and then test their *immediate* memory—how much they have learnt in ten minutes, say. Or we might measure their more solid *remote* memory—how much they remember a week or so after they first learnt the poetry.

Further, we saw that retention might be a persisting subconscious state;¹ or that we might retain very little, but supplement that little by correlate eduction and so beguile ourselves into thinking that we have retained far more than we really have; and we saw, too, that volitional activities tend to have a *determining tendency*,¹ tend to continue until resolved by the completion of the willed act.

We should try to determine how far these theories "hold water." Is the ability to make determining tendencies, for instance, the same as the ability to memorise poetry? Is the ability to memorise poetry the same as the ability to educe correlates? Finally, there is *recollection* and *recognition*. Can abilities be measured for these, and are they the same as the other memory abilities? Here, then, is room for much thought and experimental work.

In point of fact we can now measure at least three or four different memory abilities, for verbal, numerical, visual perceptual, and for auditory material. Probably there are many more, but less general, abilities of this kind. Thus, we all know the man who can remember all the names of the horses running during the current weeks of the flat-racing season: his is too specific an ability for us to trouble very much about. The verbal memory ability, however, seems to cover the

¹ See page 29.

ability to learn poetry readily, to learn lists of isolated words, to remember information of a literary kind. Similarly the numerical memory shows itself in special facility with the learning of mathematical formulæ, information about numbers, learning of long lists of numbers, etc.

It seems that these are different abilities : if one person is gifted in verbal memory, this is no indication at all of how gifted he is in the other memory abilities. Moreover, it does not follow that the person with the greatest memory ability for numbers *knows* most about numbers or mathematics. What he knows is the result of training and opportunity. What his ability is may depend on this training, but it also may be quite independent of it : it may be an *innate* ability, an inborn factor. More often than not, of course, we might find that these memory abilities depend on how much the individuals are interested in numbers, words, and the like. But the interest may in the first place have been due to a special inborn ability, since, to be sure, nothing succeeds like success, and if an individual finds that he can readily learn poetry by heart he is likely to grow up with an interest in such matters.

MEMORY NOT A SIGN OF INTELLIGENCE

THERE would seem to be no all-round ability for memory. A person usually has a good memory for some things, and a bad one for others. We can see how these special memories enter into other abilities : Mozart, for instance, must have had a phenomenal auditory memory, since he only needed to play a long piece of music once in order to remember it. It has been found, too, that memory abilities have very little to do with intelligence. The most intelligent person has not necessarily got the best memory abilities, and there are mentally defective children with astonishingly efficient memories.

Generally speaking, we psychologists are very careful not to judge a person's intelligence on his or her memory abilities : we are a little suspicious of people with only excellent memories to commend them. But, to some extent, the more intelligent the person the more he is able to memorise, and the better his memory : this might be evidence for the theory that has already been mentioned, that often we use correlate education and believe that we have remembered what in fact we have newly educed. As we shall see, education seems to be the hall-mark of intelligence, and this might partly explain the connection between memory abilities and intelligence ability.

But what of the theory of persisting subconscious states ? We see the significance of some such theory if we ask whether we can improve our memories. We certainly seem to be able to improve them in the following narrow way. We may be quite unable to remember the order of appearance of shops in a street well known to us, even though we have walked down that street all the days of our life. But this is because we have never really cognized sufficient about these shops, even though we have seen them every day. If next time we walk down this street we carefully notice all the shops, their names, where their windows are, etc., then we shall be very much more likely to remember all these

matters later, purely because we have now cognized them, whereas before we have never clearly done so.

Once we have noticed, or observed, or attended to these various details as a whole (all cognitive activities), then we tend to remember them all as a whole, apparently without any intention on our part. But if in addition we make a firm *intention* to remember these various details (a volitional activity, although it may be that the intention is often merely a way of saying that we have attended with great clearness to the matter), then we shall be still more likely to succeed. And if, as we walk down the street, we close our eyes and test our recall of the order of appearance of the shops, then there is still more likelihood that we shall better remember the order.

To improve our memory in the above respects, we have merely to be sure that we have really cognized, make a firm intention to remember, and make frequent tests of how much we have retained by testing it. This is true also of learning lists of words or poetry.

TESTS THAT GIVE A CLUE TO TEMPERAMENT

THERE remains for consideration another memory ability, called *fluency of ideas*, about which a considerable amount of research work is being done to-day. The ability is quite easy to measure with tests of the following kind :

1. *Say as many words as you can, all different, in 1 minute.*
2. *Say all the words you can in 1 minute that begin with the letter L.*
3. *Say as many two-syllable words as you can, like "often," "given," in 1 minute.*

People who succeed well at any one of these tests, tend to do so at others, and the person who gives the longest lists of words per minute has, of course, apparently the greatest ability of this kind. At present we do not know how this ability is related to other memory abilities ; but we know that it is in no way related to intelligence. Some highly intelligent people find peculiar difficulty in the tests. The tests involve the ready recall of simple words that should be, one would think, quite free to rise to consciousness with ready fluency. It has been found that the person who does best at these tests is often of a cheerful disposition, happy, original-minded, temperamental. They are, indeed, perhaps the only tests of temperament known to psychology. But what do they indicate from the point of view of memory, especially of the recall stage of memory ? The best thing to be said, for the present, is that perhaps the most fluent person carries a mass of subconscious states in a condition ready for fluent recall.

OLD LAMPS AND NEW

OUR memories, certainly, are in some way concerned with experiences we have once had. But it is a mistake to suppose that the mind holds perfect copies of these past experiences, like small lamps tucked away somewhere in the brain that are ever ready to light up and become conscious. There is always something new about what we recall. We

have to bring what is being recalled clearly into consciousness, and this involves everything that enters into any other cognition.

It is easy to appreciate, therefore, that the act of recalling allows for many changes to be made, many new features to be emphasised, and many details to be added to what we believe is recalled in a pure and untouched state from the storehouse of the mind. Nevertheless, it is important to draw a clear distinction between what is recalled, and the essentially new cognitions of which we are capable from minute to minute. I can never recall experiences that I had at Scarborough last year if I was never there ; but I can certainly think about Scarborough, and have new thoughts about it.

We have now, then, to examine the essentially new cognitions we make. These, we have hinted, are all subserved by the processes of *eduction*—the eduction of relations when we are actively analysing or synthesising our ideas, or when we are organising them in one way or another, and the eduction of correlates when we are producing either the least or the greatest flights of the imagination.

We have already seen that, besides the memory activities, there are many other classes of cognitions.

As before, the individual psychologist sets out patiently to measure all these different *acts*, to see whether different abilities can be measured for them. Is there a special ability for each of these classes of cognitions, or are they all one and the same ability in disguise ? These are all ways in which new cognitions arise to mind, and it is of great interest that there does seem to be one ability running through all these different classes. Research shows that one ability is necessary and essential for them all, although there are, in the case of some of the above types of cognition, lesser abilities added to this common one.

The common or general ability we call *eductive ability*, although most psychologists have another name for it, "intelligence." For my own part, when I talk of intelligence I mean *eductive ability*.

HOW A BABY'S INTELLIGENCE IS MEASURED

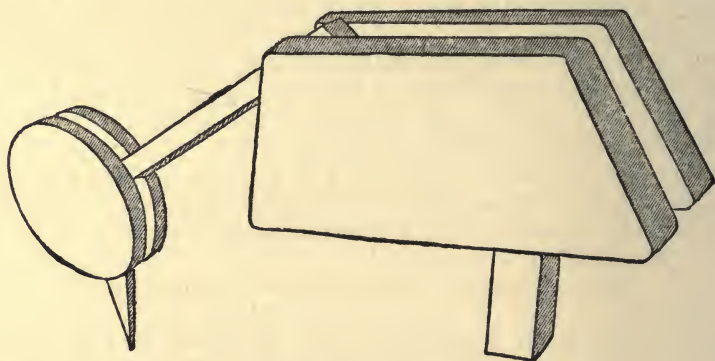
EVEN the young baby educes relations. But how are we to measure this ability to educe relations for such young children ? It has to be remembered that the measurement is effected, whenever we measure an ability, in terms of the individual differences shown by a group of people. In this way we might decide to compare (which is really what we do) the abilities of as many children as we can between the ages 6 months and, say, 2 years of age. Suppose that we begin with 50 babies, all physically sound, each just 6 months old, and follow their careers until they are 2 years old. We shall suppose that all have similar homes, and all are happy and well looked after. We shall suppose, too, that the parents know nothing at all about what is to be done to their babies. We would give each baby some toys of a special kind, and a psychologist would observe the babies, separately in their own nurseries, playing with them. One such toy might be a tray of brass weights, of different diameters and lengths, each fitting into its own recess in the tray.

The psychologist would note at what age the baby began to lift

these weights out of their recesses, and when it first tried to replace weights so lifted. At a year we would notice, perhaps, that it tries to replace weights by a trial-and-error method, trying first one recess and then another before finding one large enough to hold the weight. Next we would observe at what age the child is satisfied only when the weights fit nicely into their correct recesses—it feels and sees that a small weight does not properly fit a large recess, and thereupon proceeds to find a recess fitting the weight. At $1\frac{1}{2}$ years of age a baby under my observation was able to replace 15 such weights correctly in their recesses (all the recesses being empty to begin with), the weights differing in diameter one from another by only 2 mm.

Next, we observe at what age the child begins to depart from the crude trial-and-error method, and instead picks up a large weight, and now without trying it in the first recess it may happen upon, proceeds instead to try it only in large recesses. At 2 years of age the baby may see (educe) that the large weight and the large recess are alike in some way, and trial and error is no longer the method it uses to attain its ends. From this one toy (or test, we might call it) we can learn in this way a great deal about the educative abilities of the babies we test.

A highly useful toy, made use of in Fig. 14, the drawing below, consists of wooden sections of different shapes which the young child can



14. TOY TEST

fit together by inserting the thinner sections into the grooves round the thicker ones. At 1 year 9 months baby may set out to make a “quack-quack,” and produce the figure shown from five sections.

About each such toy, then, the psychologist would have something to observe that is *critical* for education, either of relations of likeness or of correlates. We could scarcely expect the baby of 1 year 9 months to make an inference, or to educe a difficult causal relation; but it can educe far more than we are apt to give it credit for. From the observations of the child's free activity with such toys the psychologist can estimate the number of instances of education of a clearly recognisable kind made by the child. The baby who educes most quickly and most frequently, and who gives the most brilliant flashes of correlate education,

who makes all the eductions at an early age that most babies make at a later age, that baby will have the highest eductive ability of those compared in the study I have been describing.

It is important to note that we would not confuse eductions of the above kind with the child's language ability. But, properly examined, even the baby's vocabulary could help us to determine the nature of its eductions and their frequency.

Now, although no one has yet made a very comprehensive study of the kind outlined above, many psychologists have really made use of the same notions in constructing tests for measuring, or scaling, the intelligence of young pre-school children. It has been found that, *on the average*, children at 9 months of age will look for a spoon that has fallen out of their hands, or will look at themselves knowingly in a mirror. On the average, an 8 months' baby can perform neither of these perceptual feats. At 2 years of age the average baby can draw vertical or horizontal lines on paper.

We require only a large number of such tests, as they are called, and intelligence is at once made measurable. If your baby can solve all the tests of an average 9 months' old baby, but not any tests involving greater maturity than this, its *mental age* is said to be 9 months. If its chronological age is also 9 months, baby is up to the average for these tests. If it is only 6 months old, then it is considerably brighter than the average baby of 6 months: it is indeed as bright as the average 9 months' baby. The fact can be expressed as a mental ratio, as we shall see later.

BINET TACKLES A TWO-THOUSAND YEARS' OLD PROBLEM

A. BINET, a Parisian psychologist, was the first to realise, in 1903, that intelligence could be measured relative to a scale in the way described above. Binet is indeed a notable figure in psychology: apart from his work on intelligence he was perhaps the first to do purely psychological work on reasoning, a topic that had engaged the minds of men from philosophical and logical viewpoints for over two thousand years. A sample of Binet's tests (as revised for use in London by Professor Burt) will give some idea of the essential simplicity of the world-famous Binet-Simon test:

The average three-year-old child is able to—

- (a) point to its nose, mouth, and eyes upon request;
- (b) give its sex—"Are you a boy or a girl?"
- (c) name a penny, pocket-knife, and a key.

The average four-year-old child is able to—

- (a) count four pennies;
- (b) compare two lines and say which is the longer.

The average five-year-old performs the following:

- (a) draws a square from a copy;
- (b) says how old he is;
- (c) names the colours red, yellow, green, blue;
- (d) says which is the heavier of two weights.

The average six-year-old can—

- (a) count 13 pennies ;
- (b) draw a diamond from a copy.

The average seven-year-old is able to—

- (a) recognise missing features in a drawing of a face (e.g. nose, eye, mouth missing) ;
- (b) say what is the difference between a fly and a butterfly, wood and glass, paper and cardboard.

There are tasks of this kind for all ages from 3 to 16. It might be thought that children have to be *taught* most of the tasks, and that they therefore cannot be very satisfactory tests of educative ability or of intelligence. The point about the tasks is this, however, that no amount of teaching at, say, 2 years of age will make it possible for the child to name the colours red, green, etc. (a five-year-old task). A certain maturity is needed that no amount of training can offset, and that which matures (amongst other things) is the child's ability to educe more and more difficult relations, and more and more complex correlates. If a boy can solve all the tasks up to and including those for the average eight-year-old, his *mental age* is said to be 8 years, irrespective of his chronological age. The Binet test is used for measuring a child's *intelligence quotient*, or mental ratio, which is simply the ratio of the child's mental age to its chronological age, expressed as a percentage. That is—

$$\text{I.Q.} = 100 \times \frac{\text{Mental Age}}{\text{Chronological Age.}}$$

Thus, if the boy with a mental age of 8 years is only 6 years old chronologically, his I.Q. is 133. The baby who solved all the tasks up to and including those of an 8 months' baby, and whose chronological age was only 6 months, would also have an I.Q. of 133. It seems that, within limits, a child's I.Q. remains constant throughout its life. Most individuals, children and adults, have an I.Q. between 85 and 115. A child is likely to be brilliant if its I.Q. is 140 or more, and the highest I.Q. ever recorded is in the neighbourhood of 190. It has been estimated that, of all the geniuses down the pages of history—Newton, Descartes, Bacon, Aquinas, Shakespeare, Milton, and so on in glorious array—John Stuart Mill had perhaps the highest I.Q., a figure round about 200. Which means that at 5 years of age, Mill could do all the tasks of the average ten-year-old. On the other side of the picture, mental deficiency is suspected if an individual's I.Q. is less than 70, and mental idiots have much less than this. There are men and women with mental ages of only 2 years or less.

Although a person's I.Q. remains approximately constant, his mental age of course increases gradually from year to year, the increase becoming less and less marked after the age of 14 to 16 years. The higher the original I.Q., the higher, so it seems, the individual's mental age grows. The idiot stops growing, mentally, at 8 years of age, whereas the highly intelligent individual can continue growing in educative ability until he is 30 years old or more.

The constancy of the I.Q. raises the question, Is intelligence innate, or acquired? Is it handed down by heredity, or does each child begin like a clean slate, to be made intelligent or stupid by the training it gets? Is it better to be born with a silver spoon in one's mouth, with all the advantages that wealth and a happy environment can afford, or is one's intelligence independent of environment? Measurements by means of the Binet test show that identical twins tend to have very similar intelligence quotients, and that children of highly intelligent parents tend also to be highly intelligent. The children of professional men have an average I.Q. of 115, whilst those of labouring-class parents have only 95 on the average.

DOES A SILVER SPOON MEAN A GOLDEN MIND?

WHILST some of this large difference is due to the better opportunities and culture of the one set of children compared with the other, it seems that perhaps not all of it is so determined. If children from professional and from labouring parents are brought up together from birth in an orphanage, the child from the superior parents is itself of superior intelligence. Heredity seems to set its mark for ever on a child, but a suitable environment is certainly necessary in which its intelligence can blossom to its fullest extent. Intelligence can certainly be stunted by lack of social opportunities and culture, and there are all too many cases on record of the following kind:

Bessie and Mary are identical twins, aged 16 years. Bessie has lived from birth with foster-parents who are illiterate, poverty-stricken, and unclean. Mary has enjoyed all that music, art, good schools, and social contacts can afford her as the adopted daughter of a doctor. Bessie has now an I.Q. of 98, whilst Mary's is 115, yet we suspect that both began life with a potentiality for the same I.Q. But the Binet test is far from perfect. Bessie would perhaps show up better in a more satisfactory test of I.Q., whilst Mary might not, after all, be really as intelligent as the 115 I.Q. would have us suppose.

The Binet test, which supplies the I.Q. measurement, is itself to some extent dependent on culture. It is interesting that it is more subject to social influences than to physical ones. A child can have enlarged tonsils or adenoids, be under-nourished, and be subject to severe colds without its I.Q. being materially influenced. But a chronic emotional disturbance, and a poor environment, may affect the I.Q. very much indeed. Certain canal-boat children, and the children of wandering gipsies, had an I.Q. of only 65 on the average when measured by the Binet test; yet no one would say that these children are anything like so low in intelligence as this.

SOME TESTS INSPIRED BY BINET'S SCALE

THERE are, of course, many other tests of intelligence besides the Binet-Simon. Many have been devised to try to obviate some of the faults of the Binet, and almost everyone has heard of the intelligence tests that many educational committees apply nowadays in their annual

scholarship examinations. It is interesting to look for a moment at some of the better-known types of tests that can be applied to children in the same way as one applies written papers on arithmetic or English.

The following are samples of verbal tests of intelligence :

1. SYNONYM-ANTONYMS.

If the two words have the same meaning, put an "S" between them ; if they are opposites in meaning, put an "O" between them :

| | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|-------------|
| good | . | . | . | bad |
| conquer | . | . | . | subdue |
| gather | . | . | . | scatter |
| administer | . | . | . | superintend |
| endless | . | . | . | perpetual |

2. CLASSIFICATION.

In each set of four words three mean things that are alike in some way. Cross out the remaining word :

comb hammer scissors brush
table stool wood box
there here when down
message book write know
anxiety trepidation flurry excitement

3. DISARRANGED SENTENCES.

In each of the following sentences cross out the two words that have been interchanged :

- The furiously was barking dog all night.
- The flowers began to sprout up with dreary growth, making for the vigorous months of barrenness.
- A kind man may have cause for his feelings, but you cannot count on their being gloomy.
- The queen in her royal haste had forgotten to take off her crown and her great robes.

4. ANALOGIES.

Pick out that word of the four on the right which best completes the sentence on the left :

Good is to *Bad* as *White* is to . . horse black toy evil

Drum is to *Beat* as *Whistle* is to . . play tune blow fingers

Dirt is to *Soap* as *Ink* is to . . . paper black eraser pen

Money is to *Cheap* as *War* is to . . glorious successful easy bloodless

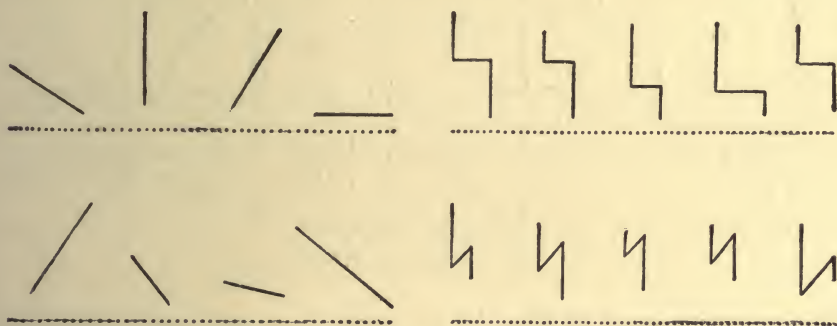
5. INFERENCES.

Answer the following questions :

- Mary has a pink dress and red hair ; Joan has a blue dress but has not got red hair ; Molly has black hair and a green dress ; Ann has red hair and a blue dress. One of these four has black hair and a blue dress, which is it ?
- A runs faster than B, but slower than C ; B runs faster than D : who runs fastest—A, B, C, or D ?

Recent experiments have shown, however, that tests of the above verbal nature measure not only educative ability, but also something in the nature of verbal facility. Thus, the arts students in a university succeed very much better, on the average, than the science students in tests like Numbers 1, 2, and 3 above. On the other hand, the science students are superior in the analogies test (No. 4). The tests 1, 2, and 3 are just what we might expect arts students to do well at, since it is their daily work to be interested in words. But the analogies test can involve education more critically than it does mere words and their meanings, and hence the science student proves his superior educative ability when the test is a fair one of education. But perhaps the difference is not that the average science student is really more intelligent than the average arts student (although I believe that there is some evidence in that direction); it may be merely that the science student is trained more than the arts student to think logically and systematically, which would certainly help him in the analogies test.

Nowadays a great deal of attention is being given to non-verbal tests of educative ability. Simple tests of the following kind measure educative ability very well indeed under many circumstances :



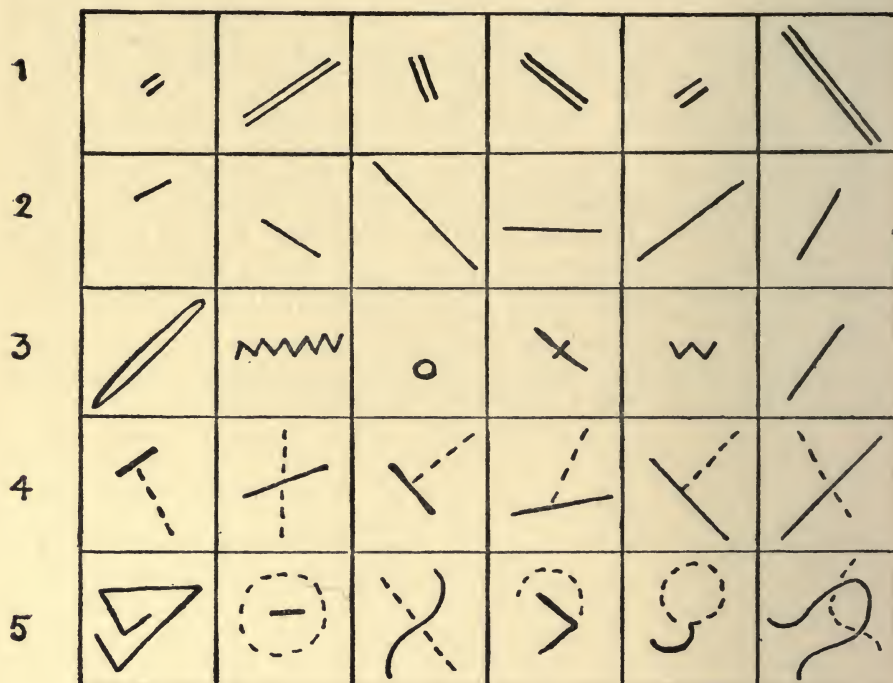
15 and 16. TESTS WITHOUT WORDS

In Fig. 15 (*comparison of directions*), pick out the line in each row which slopes away most from the vertical. Fig. 16 is a *comparison of proportions*. The parts of each one of the drawings in the top row bear the same relation to each other as do those in one of the four drawings below. Spot the four pairs which correspond to each other proportionally.

In tests of the above kind care is taken to ensure that all the testees know precisely what has to be done : thereafter it is only the speed with which they can solve the tasks that determines their score. In this way the psychologist tries to measure educative ability, free from critical use of words or past experiences. A more complicated test of this type is Fig. 17 overleaf.

There are very many different tests of the above non-verbal kind, and by use of them we seem best able to measure educative ability. The method is, of course, to find how many questions the individuals can correctly solve in, say, five minutes, allowing them to try as many different

types as possible (the more the better); and he who can solve the greatest number the most quickly has high eductive ability.

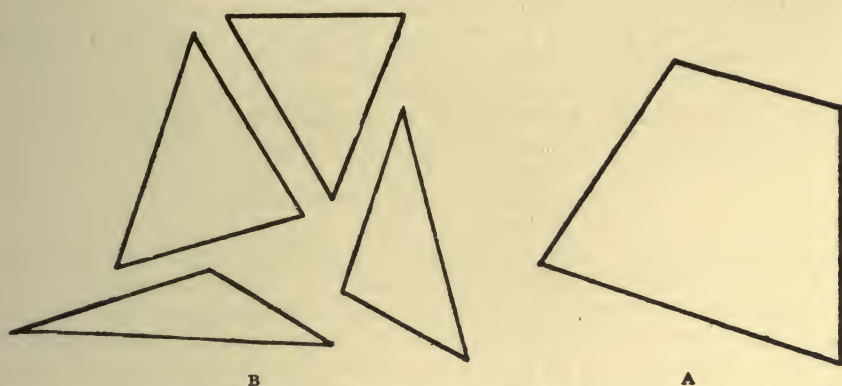


17. THE SERIES TEST

In each row there are six drawings. If two of the six are interchanged, the six then form a regular series. Find the two from each set of six that need interchanging. In No. 1 the 2nd and 5th drawings must be interchanged to form a series of lines increasing regularly in length.

In any case, when we measure eductive ability by use of these non-verbal tests it is found that the same ability runs through all the activities, such as reasoning, judgment, etc. We can measure the abilities to solve reasoning tests, and we find that it is largely the same ability as that measured by these non-verbal tests. But, like a planet with its moons and satellites, this eductive ability is often overlaid with other abilities. Thus, the verbal intelligence tests are now known, as they were for long suspected, to measure two abilities at once—*g* (the eductive ability) and *V* (in some way specific to tests involving verbal forms)—in about equal proportions. Another interesting addition to *g* is the factor *K*. *Spatial* tests, such as that on p. 45 (which seem to involve visual imagery in a critical way), measure both *g* and a special ability which we call *K*. A third special ability, *A*, seems particularly concerned

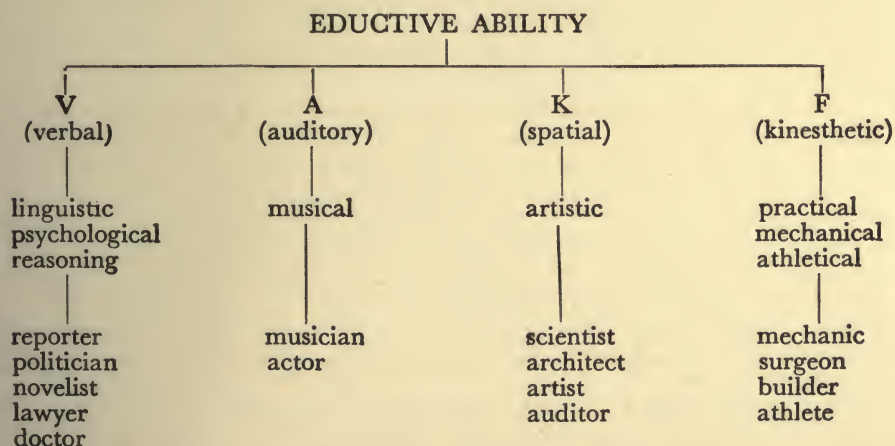
with auditory imagery : it is measured by musical ability tests, but again *g* enters into them as well as *A*.



18. A TEST THAT MEASURES TWO ABILITIES

This visual test does not only measure our powers of eductive relationships (*g*) ; it involves a special ability (*k*) as well. Draw lines in *A* to show how the figures at *B* can fit into it.

The list of special abilities can be greatly extended, even though these four are the most general (after the eductive ability). In the following family tree I have listed some of the particular abilities that can be measured :



At the top of the tree the abilities are probably innate, but as we proceed downwards they become more and more dependent upon training and experience. Nor are the final abilities at the bottom of the tree supposed to be dependent on only those directly above it : to some extent something of all will enter into every final ability of which man is capable.

If it seems surprising that I should call "doctoring" an ability, it has only to be remembered that if need be we certainly could measure doctors for their ability to look after the patients they serve, and that the doctor has ability that the auditor hasn't. The ability, of course, is largely a result of training; but it may still depend on some of the other abilities, themselves less open to training. There can be no doubt, for instance, that the most successful doctor requires high g ability and high psychological ability, as well as a reasonable practical ability and kinesthetic ability, if he is to be a successful surgeon.

EVERY MAN A GENIUS AT SOMETHING?

THE above family tree is concerned only with cognitive activities; but the end-products, whether a man becomes a lawyer or an artist, etc., will depend upon other activities, upon his character and temperament, as well as upon what opportunity has come his way. There is no end to the number of highly special abilities that we might add to this table. It is probably true that everyone is a bit of a genius at something—even if it is only the extraordinary facility that one man has in fastening up his waistcoat.

Before I describe a few of these special abilities it is as well to note that I always talk about *abilities*: in every case something is measured, and that something is undoubtedly *behaviour* in the widest sense of the word. The people tested have to respond in specific ways to certain situations, and upon the kind of responses made we measure their abilities. I can never hope to measure their *capacities*, but only the actual manifestation of them as abilities. Thus, although I began from a purely idealistic and mental point of view in psychology, by talking about consciousness and the like, I end as much a behaviourist as any psychologist—psychology is made to depend upon the abilities measured, and the abilities can only be measured in terms of the person's behaviour.

But it is time to look a little further into some of the special abilities. The V ability, popularly called verbal intelligence, is still the subject of researches, and we know very little about its nature. It is obviously connected, however, with the ability to form *gestalt* with verbal material. Closely connected with V are the linguistic, psychological, and reasoning abilities. Linguistic ability is best seen in a secondary school, where girls are often superior to boys in the mechanical learning of modern languages. But language abilities become very specialised as we grow, so that men are usually more inventive than women with respect to verbal material, making them the better essayists and novelists.

Reasoning ability is usually regarded as the highest level of all in the scale of intelligence, or of intellect, and the highest flights of intellect, presumably, are needed in syllogistic deductions of the following kind:

"All men are mortal.
Socrates is a man.
Therefore Socrates is mortal."

For many of the older philosophers reasoning was an infallible process, the method by which eternal truths were made known to man. Great philosophers like St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, Locke, Kant, Spinoza, Plato, and Aristotle, wrote about reasoning without ever finding out anything truly psychological about it. The early psychologists like Wundt, William James, and Pillsbury were equally lost in the logical and philosophical aspects of reasoning.

It was only in 1874 with Brentano and Binet that reasoning began to be regarded from the psychological viewpoint. Binet, after a series of experiments, could find no difference between mere perception and reasoning in respect of the processes entering into the experiments. Reasoning merely involved shifts of attention and mental imagery, otherwise there was nothing mysterious about it. Recent experiments bear out Binet's conclusion that there is no essential difference between perception and reasoning: both involve eduction in a critical way. Moreover, a simple non-verbal test like that illustrated on page 43, in which the directions of different lines have to be compared, can measure eductive ability every bit as well as almost any reasoning test. Some very interesting work has been done, too, with syllogisms of the above kind, in which it has been shown that one cannot improve one's ability to educe the conclusion to the syllogism. No amount of practice can increase the speed at which the eduction is made.

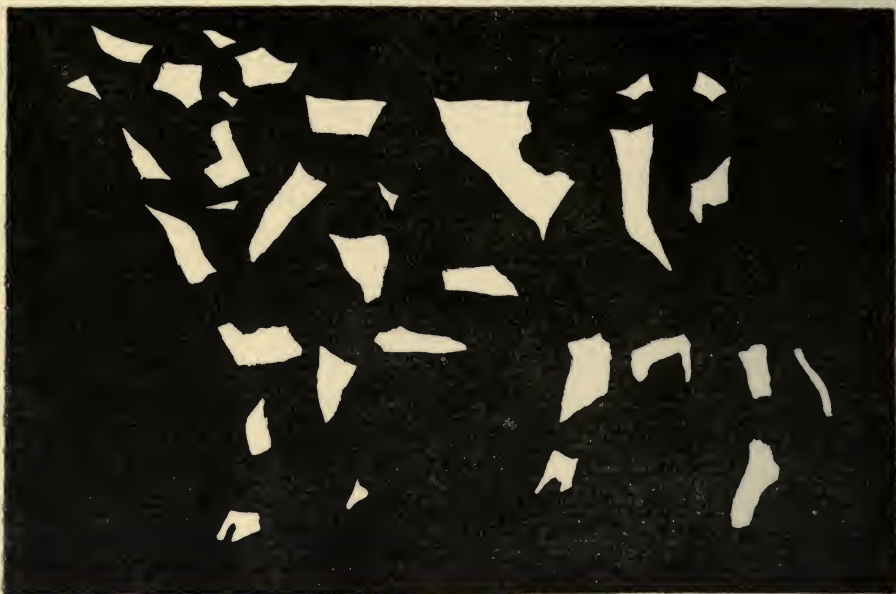
Many verbal tests of intelligence include reasoning tests of the following kind:

*"Tom runs faster than Jim:
Jack runs slower than Jim:
Which is the slowest of the three?"*

Dr. Murdoch tried out some twenty types of reasoning tests of the above kind in an experiment performed at University College, London, to see whether a special ability was needed to solve them other than eductive ability. He found that all the tests involved eduction (g) as well as the verbal ability (V), and that only four involved something in addition that might be called the "reasoning" ability.

Another special ability, which at first sight cannot seem to involve anything other than the fruits of experience, is called "psychological" because it concerns the facility with which some individuals are able to judge the character and conduct, the moods, idiosyncrasies, and sentiments of their neighbours. They somehow know what a twitching lip portends, what wide-open eyes and the seemingly aimless movement of an arm may mean, and somehow perceive these when others would never do so. In the same way there are special tests for measuring musical abilities, mechanical abilities, and so forth. None of them can be measured, it would seem, free from eductive ability, although they would be if we concerned ourselves only with individuals of the same intelligence or eductive ability.

The *gestalt* psychologists have had much to say about wholes and configurations, and the rôle these play in cognitive organisation. Tests of the following kind have been used to discover whether some people are better able than others to perceive visual "wholes":



19. PICTURE PUZZLE.

How quickly have you seen what this drawing represents? It shows a cow. With many items of this kind we can measure how well individuals are able to grasp them. But so measured, it is found that the ability has very little to do with intelligence as measured by all other tests: as we might suspect, tests of this kind depend critically on past experience (if we had never seen a cow, or a drawing of one, we might have perceived the above as a chair, or something else), perhaps on *fluency of ideas*, perhaps on visual imagery, or perhaps it is a narrow and special ability to perceive visual perceptual *wholes*. In any case, it does not seem to be the essential and crucial kind of process that we look for as the basis of cognitive organisation.

The measurement of abilities over the wide range described in previous pages thus supplements the conclusions we drew from our study of conscious activity: when we measure eductive ability in any one class of cognition, it is found that the same ability stretches into all other classes, from the mere estimating of length on the one hand to the most recondite acts of reasoning on the other, and this is what might be expected if there is such an important process as education underlying all mental organisation. The *gestalt* processes do not seem to serve in this all-comprehensive way.

THE MENTAL PROCESSES OF GENIUS

THERE are still other cognitive abilities that can be measured, especially interesting ones being imagination and suggestibility. Two different abilities lie confused in the word "imagination." Tests of

correlate education¹ measure the constructive, intelligent features of an imaginative kind, whilst less controlled imagination, with its random flights of ideas and lack of control, is much the same thing as *fluency* of ideas, the tests for which were described.² The person with the ready fluency is likely to be regarded as highly imaginative; but the world's constructive thinkers, artists, actors, inventors, scientists, and teachers make use of a very different ability, that of education of relations and correlates. Most tests of intelligence involve the education of relations only, and very few measurements have ever been made of the more inventive correlate education—it is difficult to ensure that past experiences play no part in the tests devised for measuring correlate education.

Finally, a paragraph on *suggestion* and *suggestibility*. Are some people more suggestible than others, and how does such an ability fit into our cognitive scheme? The young child, from 1 year to 1 year 6 months in the case of my daughter, is very highly suggestible. That is, we have only to say, "Go get your teddy," and baby immediately obeys, wherever she is and whatever she is doing. Of course she has to know what and where her teddy is. But soon it takes all one's persuasion to get baby to obey quite so unhesitatingly. Soon it is as likely to do the opposite as it is to do what one so badly wants it to do. But what the baby grows out of as an individual it retains when it is a member of a crowd. A cry of: "Lynch him!" is accepted absolutely unhesitatingly by the howling mob, just as: "Go get your teddy" is accepted by baby.

Then, again, we all know something about the uses of direct and indirect suggestion. "*Gentlemen*, do not spit on the floor," is apparently quite effective with country yokels, and in the same way the vast forces of advertising rely on suggestion. We see slogans so often that we tend to believe them, without the slightest evidence to support the belief. The newspaper press is apt, likewise, in the use of suggestion. Its readers accept its views, often in spite of themselves and always on the flimsiest of grounds. But in the same way we accept uncritically our religious and social customs.

WHY WE SUCCUMB TO THE ADVERTISEMENT SLOGAN

SUGGESTION, then, is best regarded from the viewpoint of "memory." We first acquire beliefs without adequate grounds to support them: we retain what is so learnt, and afterwards we are *suggestible* about these beliefs—that is, they are recalled and are still accepted uncritically. Having had suggested to us from countless hoardings that "Fivexe's Beer is best of all," it is more than likely that next time we want a drink, the word "Fivexe" will occur immediately to mind. A person is not suggestible to ideas that are not already held in his mind. All the suggestion in the world will never make me drink "Fivexe's beer" if I am a staunch teetotaller. And how extraordinary a thing is suggestion! If a comedian makes a "broad" joke on the wireless, a minor storm is raised in the wireless world. But he can be highly suggestive on the same matter, and all is well!

¹ See page 42.

² See page 36.

Again, if men and women run amok, lynching and butchering a fellow human being, there must be something retained in their minds, something of which they are capable, deeply down perhaps and normally repressed, that lends itself to this inhuman behaviour. We have strange hints of memory contents in the mind, strange behaviour of which we are still capable on occasion, archbishop and thief, philanthropist and gambler alike.

All these various abilities, then, can be regarded as evidences of "structures of the mind." By which we mean that people have these various abilities, and by which we infer that either there are actual structures corresponding to them, or, more precisely, underlying *processes* accounting for them. By measuring abilities we begin from psychological facts, and we hope to find out something about the processes.

LIGHTS AND SHADES OF PERSONALITY: THE SENTIMENTS AND THE EMOTIONS

HAVING examined the cognitive, it is now time to look more closely at the affective ("feeling") structures of the mind, whilst, later, volitional structures will need our attention. I have already introduced the topic of "feelings" (pages 30-32), but did not attempt to specify any laws for these features of our conscious experiences. As usual, let us begin by asking whether the "affects," as they are called, have been classified into apparently different groups or classes.

There is in the first place a broad group of simple feelings of pleasure, and of "unpleasure": the first time I see a glowing colour, or hear a sweet tone, I experience them as pleasant, whilst a harsh tone or colour I experience at once as disagreeable. Wundt (1832-1920), the great experimentalist, founder of psychological laboratories, considered that there are three different kinds of affects of this elementary kind—pleasure and disagreeableness, excitement and calm, and strain and relaxation. But the classical associationists held that there are as many different feelings as there are ideas, whilst perhaps most psychologists to-day believe that there is only one elementary type of feeling—pleasure and "unpleasure" or disagreeableness. We have a hint, at least, that it is apparently very difficult to classify such feelings.

There are, again, our *higher* feelings, the feelings some of us have of gratitude, trust, and joy, feelings of a religious, æsthetical, or political kind. These undoubtedly seem to be as numerous as ideas themselves, for we can feel the awkwardness resulting from a *faux pas*, no less than the solemnity of a funeral. Again, many "feelings" seem to be most intimately connected with bodily activities—the "appetites" of hunger and sexual pleasure, together with feelings of fatigue and lassitude. Very similar, too, are our *emotions*, crude and elemental feelings of anger, rage, fear, and sensual love, the various *passions* of man.

But appetites and emotions, as we shall see later, are nowadays regarded as experiences apart from the affects: they are more intimately connected with bodily activities, whereas there is nothing directly bodily in the pleasure and "unpleasure" feelings. But our *moods* seem to be affective. Moods of ill-humour may persist all day, colouring all our

experiences, from the office-boy we curse for a minor mistake to the churlish thanks we give for a favour done us. There are patients in mental hospitals, and many more outside the walls of these great and much misunderstood institutions, whose moods may last for weeks on end, dreary weeks of despondency, depression, excitement, or anxiety. Mental hospitals, indeed, have a great deal to teach us about feelings : many patients have no higher feelings, no experiences of joy, happiness, and the like.

WHAT A "FEELING" REALLY IS

LET us draw a distinction between the elementary affects and moods. On the one hand, and the appetites and emotions on the other. What, then, can we say about the former—the affects? We are ready to believe that a brass band is making a noise, and that a fire is hot (whereas these are our own mental states), but we make no such mistakes about our feelings. These we know are *ours* with nothing corresponding to them in the world outside. We project our mental experience of noise upon the innocent band, but we do not say that the door-mat is feeling annoyed when we trip up over it and feel annoyed as a consequence. It is true, of course, that we say the "sea rages," and that there are "happy hunting-grounds." But in such cases we know quite well that we are merely projecting our experiences on the feelingless world outside, a process graced in psychology by the special name "empathy."

In the first place, then, feelings are essentially conscious experiences, and we know that *we* experience them, and that *we* cognize them. Secondly, feelings do not seem to have a *memory* value : a feeling is never recognised as something we have "remembered," but merely as something newly produced in the mind at the time. Thirdly, we know that some kinds of feelings can be combined within narrow limits, although more often than not they retain their independence. If we lose a pound note and find a shilling at the same time, the unpleasure of the one does not mix well with the lesser satisfaction of the other. If we learn that our greatest friend is dead, and at the same time that we have been unusually lucky at business, the sorrow and the pleasure come alternately to mind, although, to be sure, the sorrow is not so deep and sincere, and the pleasure not so unrestrained, as would have been the case had they been occasioned separately. But had the business news been gloomy, the sorrow for our friend's death would have been extremely deep.

Again, one feeling often offsets another : just as colours contrast with one another, so feelings are affected by a similar law. The danger felt at sea in a storm of drenching rain and driving wind is all the more unpleasant if we are in view of port. The grave-diggers' comedy serves to heighten the feelings we have of the impending tragedy awaiting Hamlet when, in a moment, Ophelia's bier is to be carried in.

HOW SENTIMENTS CRYSTALLISE INTO "CHARACTER"

BUT so far I have discussed the affections purely ; it will be as well to look at them in their more usual cognitive settings. Feelings become attached, so to speak, to particular cognitions or systems of ideas.

Parental love, feelings of friendship, admiration, contempt; sentiments connected with honesty, courage, manliness, cruelty, and the like; the masses of sentiments about ourselves, our self-esteem, pride, ambition, conceit; all these and many more are built up as we grow, and in all of them the feelings have become attached to systems of ideas, knowledge, and cognitions generally. According to Professor William McDougall, a person's *character* can only be understood in terms of his sentiments. These, organised into more or less harmonious wholes, with a certain continuity in their action, constitute character.

Sentiments are thus indications of more or less enduring structures of the mind, in which both cognitive and affective experiences are concerned. Again, there are those subtle and sometimes snobbish experiences, our *tastes*. One man acquires a taste for golf, another for expensive and exclusive suits, another for goldfish.

Is there a difference, then, between a taste and a sentiment? We can have a taste for cigars, but masses of sentiment (and no taste) about our old pipes. Perhaps, as Professor McDougall suggests, there is a difference in that tastes are rather like tools, things we make use of, whereas sentiments are driving forces to action. If I am tired and feel lonely, the sentiments connected with smoking may send me in search of matches and a cosy chair, but whether I smoke cigars, cigarettes, or a pipe will depend upon my taste.

EVERYTHING MUST EITHER PLEASE OR ANNOY

WHAT, then, of the nature of all these various feelings, sentiments, and tastes? What laws can we propose for them? The modern theory is that there is one and only one kind of elementary feeling experienced as degrees of either pleasure or "unpleasure." And the first law of affect might be stated as follows: *every cognitive experience tends to be experienced together with feelings of pleasure or unpleasure*. Such feelings have little or nothing to do with the great hedonistic principle of pleasure and "pain," the pleasure-pain principle that is the basis of psycho-analytical theory, and asserts that individuals strive unconsciously towards pleasurable ends, and away from painful ones. The hedonistic principle is a law of conation, not of affection. The first law of affection, if we may return to it, is true of all cognitions: we recognise tastes, noises, smells, colours, and textures or surfaces that we touch or "feel," as either pleasant or unpleasant in some degree. If it is asked why we have these feelings, then no answer can be given. They are ultimate and irreducible items for psychology.

For any other laws of affect we have to turn to more complicated matters, and here I shall give only a general indication of the background out of which such laws have to be forged. Already I have mentioned laws concerned with contrast, and combination of higher feelings, but our immediate problem is to see upon what the higher feelings themselves depend, and this we can approach from one or two different directions.

In the first place there arise *immediately* to mind, without any mediating processes of a psychological kind, certain other affective experiences besides the elementary ones of a pleasure and "unpleasure" kind. These

are the emotions, appetites, and similar bodily conditioned "feelings." Emotions arise instinctively to mind. When baby hears a loud noise, fear creeps into its little mind (however dim the awareness may be for either the noise or the emotion). Similarly there are masses of bodily "feelings," of an auto-erotic kind, connected with almost every part of the body, and particularly with the sex and excretory organs, the mouth, breasts, and arm-pits.

HOW FEELINGS ARE BLENDED AND BEAUTIFIED

It is supposed that just as cognitions tend to be felt as pleasurable or otherwise in some degree (first law), so these bodily-conditioned feelings are also experienced in different degrees of the same affect, and the result is experienced as a complex feeling. The two blend, so to speak, and produce the new feeling. With further complication, when complex feelings are experienced with reference to particular systems of ideas, still higher and more complicated feelings arise to mind. Thus, a dog may experience complex feelings, as when it is dispirited and cowed. Man, on the other hand, experiences still higher feelings in connection with his ideas, thoughts, wishes, and the like, as happens when he feels gratitude for the good turn that has been done him. Neither in the case of complex affects arising by a blending of simpler ones, nor in that of higher affects arising by a blending of affects with cognitive experiences, are we told, except in physiological terms, how the blending takes place.

Finally, it is as well to remember that feelings have profound effects on action. Exaggerated feelings appear to spur one to action. I know of a young man who was a brilliant success at College during the time that poverty struck him most. He drew his energy, it would seem, from anger that he felt against certain members of his family. Indeed, our social reformers tend to forget that it is not the person who has everything made easy for him who will make the best success of life.

HOW MUSIC AFFECTS A COW'S MILK

Feelings, too, have a decided effect on mental imagery: my most vivid, and especially my coloured dreams, are the few pleasurable dreams I have. It has been shown that those cognitions which are made under pleasurable circumstances tend to be remembered more than those either unpleasantly or indifferently felt—a hint to teachers, perhaps, to make the atmosphere of their classes and lessons as pleasurable as possible. But even cows are affected by soothing music: they give more milk if they are milked to the soft notes from a gramophone or wireless set. Unpleasant experiences, as we all know, tend to be forgotten.

There remains one further point of great interest, intimately concerned with moods, and peculiar to affects generally. It is that an affect can be *transferred* from one system of ideas to a wholly unrelated set. The gloom we feel on first arising in the morning can colour our thoughts and actions for the rest of the day.

MAINSPRINGS OF HUMAN ACTION: THE INSTINCTS

ONE more group of "feelings"—the emotions—remains to be discussed. But before we can do so we have to leave our introspective psychology and its supplementing measurement of abilities on one side and turn to many unintrospectible activities. We begin by examining what has been learnt about instincts. The word "instinct" has been given a multitude of meanings. The man-in-the-street will say that Mr. Baldwin has an "instinct" for describing proper English sentiments. If we stop walking without knowing why, to become suddenly aware that a cliff-edge yawns a foot in front of us, we say that we stopped "instinctively." Anything usual or mysterious is apt to be called "instinctive." There are some psychologists, too, who talk of the sex and life instincts even of single cells—the somatic and gonad cells, driven unceasingly as they are towards racial and individual survival. But we have already met instincts under the name of *unconditioned complex reflexes*.

For the reflexologist and behaviourist, as we have seen, these are complex systems of unconditioned (unlearnt) reflexes connected with the essentials of existence (with food and food-seeking), with *self-preservation* (pugnacity, defence, freedom, curiosity, play), and with *propagation* (sex and parental care). The sex instinct, for instance, is the sum-total of innumerable reflex systems connected with the sex organs, glands, and erogenous areas of the body, mouth, anus, and so forth. Some of these operate unceasingly in some degree, rendering the individual always in a state of preparedness, as though energy were being piled up for later use under appropriate stimulation.

There are other psychologists, however, who refuse to accept this mechanical theory of instincts. They agree that there are instincts connected with food, preservation and propagation; and they agree that these are unlearnt. But they emphasise that instincts have a psychical nature, and not merely a mechanical one. Professor McDougall, for instance, stresses this. He holds that instincts are essentially teleological and hormic. Let us see what this means.

DOES "INSTINCT" MAKE THE SWALLOW FLY SOUTH?

IT is well known that birds, in due season, migrate across the miles of sea, as though aware of a "goal" ahead. McDougall believes that the bird is really aware, in however dim a fashion, of its present and past experiences, and of the goal to which it has to aim, the foreign district to which it has to fly. The facts are, according to McDougall, (1) that the complex reflex systems make the bird ready for the motor activities to be endured; (2) that it is guided by an awareness, however vague, of the goal that it has to seek; (3) that the activity once initiated tends to continue until the goal is reached; (4) that the activity ceases when the goal is reached; and (5) progress towards the goal brings with it pleasurable experiences, whilst thwarting and failure lead to disagreeable or unpleasant feelings.



[PhotoPress]

MASS SUGGESTION

Hysterical sympathy spreads like a heath fire through the crowd surging round the hero of a "not guilty" verdict.



Thus there is a certain solitary wasp, born alone and out of all contact with other wasps, which proceeds in the first moments of its maturity to kill spiders or insects of a particular species, and to place the prey in a prearranged straw stalk together with an egg, which in turn will develop into a solitary wasp and repeat the same instinctive cycle. The core of this instinct, according to McDougall, is that the wasp is aware, in however vague a fashion, of the end to be pursued, or of the separate steps towards it. The end to be pursued arises, as it were, as a "memory." With this single "thought" in its mind, so to speak, the insect pursues it to its instinctive conclusion. As the insect proceeds towards this goal or end-in-view, it may make unconscious "will" acts or series of such acts directed towards the goal. The total picture is that of an insect striving with a purpose towards an end that it has "remembered." This, in any case, is McDougall's "hormic" theory of instinct.

THE ELUSIVE QUALITY OF THE INSTINCTS

VERY few psychologists accept this teleological theory of instinct. It all seems to be too highly anthropomorphic, as though lowly insects have essentially human abilities. But, of course, they would be abilities of a very rudimentary (or highly specialised) form. For my own part, I agree with Professor McDougall that living behaviour cannot be explained completely in terms of the behaviourist's notions of a physical kind, and that we are left to make what use we can of the only other notions we have, those of a purely psychological kind, such as "awareness" and "volition." But man has no instincts in the sense that insects have them: rather he has tendencies and propensities only, reservoirs of energy on top of which all his wealth of cognition and volition can operate along lines laid down by social and individual educative forces.

McDougall believes that man has eighteen distinct propensities. Many propensities described by McDougall have been exhaustively investigated, and prove to be extremely complex things indeed. Perhaps it will be sufficient here to take the case of the parental propensity. McDougall only saw in this the beautiful care of a mother for her baby. But infanticide, if we look broadly at the history of man, has been almost as common as parental care. In Greece, babies were put on the hillside to brave the elements for life or death. Even the dog is as likely as not to eat its own puppies when they are born.

Many psychologists have therefore gone to the other extreme, saying that parental care in man is just a custom, a thing expected of us, and accordingly done under the force of social edicts. From this they jump still further afield, to say that there are no instincts at all, all being the result of learning and habit formation. But actually a whole book can be written about the innate forces, the cross-currents of emotion and fear and anxiety that enter into childbirth and parenthood.

A reflex arc, as we have seen, can be represented by $S \rightarrow R$. A stimulus (S) is given, and the response (R) follows, as when the knee is tapped (S) and the knee-jerk is the response (R). The same formula seems to apply for instincts. There is stimulation followed by some kind of motor

response. The young lamb, we say, instinctively follows its dam. It sees the dam move away (the stimulation), and thereupon it follows (motor activity). The motor activity, however, is not necessarily part of the instinct proper—the lamb may skip, gambol, frisk, or walk with ungainly mien, as it will, so long as it reaches its objective—the dam. The core of the instinct is the *disposition* to follow.

What, then, is this disposition? Is it a conative drive towards an end or “goal,” both of which, the drive and an awareness of the goal to be reached, arise instinctively, mechanically, and invariably in the lamb’s mind? The behaviourist, of course, would remind us that the word “conation” is deluding us: what we want to call conation is, for him, just a complex chain of reflexes. The boomerang has no conation, but it reaches its “goal,” nevertheless, purely by physical means: so, too, for the behaviourist all “conation” is equally purely a matter of reflexes.

Few psychologists would agree with McDougall that an awareness, an image or photograph, of the goal to be reached, rises instinctively to the lamb’s mind. It is simpler to believe that as the dam moves away its lamb feels uneasy, and this uneasiness, it finds, is removed when it goes towards its mother. The instinctive formula then becomes $S \rightarrow F \rightarrow R$, the stimulus serving to raise a feeling (F), which, under a primitive urge to free itself from miscomfort, the lamb finds is removed by appropriate action (R). The core of the instinct is a *feeling*, and for the rest the animal learns to make appropriate motor responses. Many innate propensities in human beings seem to have this pattern: their core is a state of emotion. Professor McDougall has suggested, most brilliantly, that each of the instinctive human drives has attached to it in this way a primary (instinctive) emotion. The sex drive has lust as its emotional concomitant, whilst the parental drive has with it the *tender* emotion of parenthood.

The formula given above for reflexes, $S \rightarrow F \rightarrow R$, seems to accord well with the common view of action, no less than with these propensities. If I see danger ahead, I no doubt feel afraid, and take to flight accordingly, or act in some other appropriate way. If I am confronted with a truly horrible sight, say that of a child butchered on a roadway, a feeling of sickening disgust and horror rises to mind, and I try to withdraw from so frightful a scene. I have noticed something very akin to wonder in young children, and no doubt an appropriate feeling is experienced, after which the child continues to look fixedly at the thing occasioning the wonder. Similarly, of all the propensities it can be said, although sometimes with a decided stretch of the imagination, that first an emotion is raised, and after that appropriate action takes place.

But doubts come to mind. I may be hit, and feel hurt, and thereupon strike back. But I may strike my opponent immediately, and only afterwards feel the anger and hurt. If I see a lion at large I will probably take to my heels at once, and only when I am safe shall I be prostrate with fear. If I step unwittingly in front of a car on the roadway, I step back instantly, and the anger and relief are experienced only after the car has passed me and I am safe.

In the same way there are soldiers who fight fearlessly in action but

are prostrate with fear when all danger is over. Nevertheless, McDougall's formula seems to represent the native or original state of affairs in human beings. We perceive ; this raises a state of feeling ; and we act. But we can also control our emotion, repressing it and keeping it out of consciousness. But it functions willy-nilly, and when the control is released the emotion is discharged. If we lose this control, then we would frequently be paralysed with the force of the emotion. It serves no useful end to face a lion when we are paralysed with fear ; it is better to run for it and be afraid afterwards.

The psycho-analyst uses the same notion that under stimulation certain emotions or feelings are raised, and should result in motor action. But instead, the tendencies to emotion are often repressed, and may remain repressed for years. If they remain repressed all is well, but the trouble occurs when the repression or control is ineffective and the emotion so long repressed bursts forth as depression, anxiety, melancholia, nervousness, and so forth, or when it leads to motor activity of an extraordinary or bizarre kind, like suicide.

INSTINCTS : THE DRIVING FORCES OF LIFE

IT is not surprising to learn that there are men and women who have to be taught what constitutes a sexual act, for this in man is no longer instinctual in its totality. The dull, dumb sexual instinct in a child is little more than the interest it takes in its nose, mouth, genital organs, and body generally. The baby first plays with its mother's nipple, then perhaps with its own navel, and later with its nose, mouth, genitals, and anus. These are the first actions of the sexual instinct. In this sense, and as we gather from the fantasy and interest shown about and in their parents, children have this sexual instinct in two phases—one from birth to 5 or 6 years of age, and the other from puberty onwards. At puberty the sexual instinct is not quite the simple and glamorous thing that McDougall would have us think it is.

The psycho-analysts hold, with Professor Freud, that there are two broad systems or sets of instincts—the sex-instincts and the ego or self-assertive instincts. We can appreciate the complexity of the sex-instincts when we recall all that enters into child-bearing alone. The ego-instincts are no less complex and elaborate. These two instincts are, for the analyst, the driving forces of life. They supply the energy that man uses in his thinking, his abilities, his learning. They are the petrol, as it were, to keep the motor running ; but they are also gyroscopes that give the direction in which man will expend this energy. All culture is but a way in which this energy is used.

EMOTIONS THAT HAVE OVERTHROWN EMPIRES : LOVE, FEAR, RAGE

BUT not everyone will accept McDougall's list of emotions, nor their formation about general instincts. The behaviourist, Watson, holds that there are only three primary or elementary forms of emotion—love, fear, and rage.

The behaviourist does not regard these emotions as driving forces.

Rather they are really useless, like most vestiges. They tend to delay action by throwing the individual into a state of chaos. Thus, when baby is experiencing love feelings it is not cognitively active. Baby's rage can become a paroxysm, with the breath held until suffocation results and the body becomes as stiff as the rigors of death itself. Fear stupefies us, chains us to the ground, a quivering individual at the mercy of the real danger. Love, in its wider development, makes the young man a dithering creature, love-sick, incompetent and impotent at work or play. That is, emotions are biologically useless, of no help in the struggle for existence. The world would get along much more efficiently, the behaviourist believes, if feelings and emotions were no longer born in us. Men would then be mere robots, creatures of habit and reason only.

But however emotions arise to mind, and whatever they are, they serve as nuclei about which man builds up his higher feelings and sentiments, as we saw in earlier sections. We can see, too, how readily an emotion can be transferred from its original to other stimuli. The baby hears a loud noise (however dim its awareness may be), and fear creeps instinctively into its little mind. Later, by a process of conditioning perhaps, the baby may learn to be afraid of darkness as well as of loud noises, and there may grow up in this way a network of ideas or cognitions, any one of which may act as a stimulus for the release of fear—a network, however, of a precise and clear-cut kind.

UNREASONABLE FEARS THAT PARALYSE THE MIND

EVERYONE has heard of the bizarre *phobias* from which some people suffer: one man is afraid of riding in trains, another of being confined in a room with a closed door, another of tunnels, another of wide open spaces, another of cats, and so on. One of my friends confesses to a phobia of this kind: she feels uncomfortable, apprehensive, when in an underground train, and the fear becomes almost uncontrollable if the train should stop between two stations. But it is the only "phobia" that she has.

After all, true associations between ideas are of this precise nature: not all ideas are associated in the way that, in my case, the "Spring Song" and the friend's suicide are associated¹—in point of fact, there are very few such associations for most of us. It was John Locke who said that associations were abnormal and unusual rather than normal, and this, I think, is quite true. This applies, equally, to the association or conditioning (as the behaviourists would call it) of an idea with an affect. It is only dogs that one person is afraid of, only a closed railway carriage in another case.

These examples are sufficient to indicate that there is a difference between sentiments and phobias: apart from the bizarre nature of the latter, they are much more clear-cut emotionally and ideationally than sentiments. In phobias we may be sure that the fears and anxieties have been transferred in a more or less automatic way from their original and instinctive sources, and it is the work of the psycho-pathologist to

¹ See page 8.

trace these fears back to their original sources. But, to be sure, the same process can be applied to sentiments, and we find that these have gathered their emotional charges from very unusual sources.

A MATHEMATICAL MEASURE FOR OUR EMOTIONS

FINALLY, we have to ask whether emotions can be measured. Are some people more emotional than others? A few years ago it was thought by some experimentalists that they had found a most exact method for measuring a person's emotions. The method made use of what has become known as the psycho-galvanic reflex, perhaps the most striking experiment that one can perform in a psychological laboratory. The method consists of measuring the electrical resistance across a person's hand, from palm to the back of the hand. If we feel emotion, the sweat-glands are activated, and this alters the electrical resistance across the hand, so that we can determine just when, and to what extent, a person feels emotion by measuring the changes in resistance.

But what seemed to be so promising is now known to be otherwise: any mental activity, cognitive or affective, produces these same changes in resistance. Nevertheless, the psycho-galvanic reflex is quite useful for indicating emotional disturbances under certain conditions, even though it cannot be used to measure them. I believe, however, that some people are certainly more emotional than others.

FORCES WHICH REVEAL A MAN'S CHARACTER : MOTIVE AND WILL-POWER

CERTAIN laws of volition have been described in an earlier section, and notably the law of *determining tendency*. When we decide to do something—that is, from a volitional act—there ensue determining tendencies which tend to carry out the intention of the act, even without further volition to that effect. When I decide to post a letter on my way to the station to-morrow morning, I do not have to make a further volitional act about it: already tendencies are at work which will ensure that the letter will be posted in due course. These tendencies, it must be noted, are not the same things as “memories.” I do not remember to post the letter, so much as in fact I am *driven* to post it, much as a swallow is driven relentlessly to warmer climates in the autumn.

Of course, some of these determining tendencies are stronger than others, or are even countered by others. If the determining tendency to post a letter is not very strong, I may “forget” to post it. Or, if there are inner motives for “forgetting” to post it—if, for instance, it is a letter to my dentist asking for an appointment for repairs to my teeth, and if there are reasons for keeping as far away from the dentist as possible, then the weak decision to post the letter may be impotent against this stronger counter-tendency.

The experiment performed by Dr. Kurt Lewin is an illuminating example of the distinction between the “memory” and the determining tendency. Children were asked to perform many separate tasks,¹ one

¹ See page 4.

after the other. Some were allowed to be completed, but others were interrupted before they could be completed. Afterwards it was found that the children could recall those tasks that had been interrupted twice as frequently as those that had been completed. There is a tendency, of course, to "remember" all the tasks, since they have been held cognitively in mind. But the tendency is stronger for those tasks which the child had decided to do, but had been unable to complete: that is, the determining tendency was still operative for these interrupted tasks. Once we decide to do a thing there are set up tendencies which seem to hold the decision subconsciously in mind in quite a distinct way, giving it preference, so to speak, over ordinary cognitive retentivity.

A NEW LIGHT ON WILL-POWER

I HAVE already drawn a distinction between volition and *conation*. Conation is action and striving through or by volition, but the term is also used for the instinctive behaviour of insects and animals. It is as though, in these instincts, a decision had been made as to what the insect or animal had to do, what goals it had to strive towards, what motives it had to pursue, and had mapped out ways and means to these ends. It is this that mystifies us so much, that the insect, a mere flea or wasp, should act as though it had decided what to do. Volition itself, however, involves no action. It is a unique mental activity, altogether different from a cognition or affects.

I mentioned earlier that most psychologists do not believe that we make these special acts, and that cognition and feeling explains all that is to be seen in striving, deciding, choosing, and the like. It is true, however, that volitional acts are not easy to observe: it is only after considerable practice that an individual can observe himself making decisions; and I have no doubt that the behaviourist will never believe in the reality of a volitional act because he will never allow himself to observe it, much as an hysterical person does not allow herself to feel pain.

Again, although we speak every day of using our "will-power," or of "strong-willed" and "weak-willed" individuals, it is possible that the essential volitional acts are the same in intensity for everyone, strong-willed and weak-willed alike. What we call strong will is perhaps the tense expressions, the clenched hands and the lively feelings, and these hide from us the inner core, the clear-cut volitional act itself.

This lies like a tender plant under masses of weeds and stronger growths. All that we can say is that one person may look as though he is strong-willed, but that this is perhaps due to the way he displays his emotions and feelings, rather than to any true will-power. And, indeed, it is a commonplace that it is the quiet and inexpressive person who is often most resolute in intention and its fulfilment. The strong, silent man of fiction may be drawn with a square jaw, but his volitional acts are the secret of his firmness, not his jaw.

It is impossible, however, to discuss volitional activity apart from the cognitive and affective settings. We cannot *will* about nothing. To make a volitional act at all we have to cognize or know objects that can

be altered in some way by our action, or we must recall or remember such experiences, or we have to educe anew or think of something we have never experienced before but which we know can be so altered by our action. We have to realise, too, that we ourselves require this action.

Thus, perhaps one of the most important laws of psychology is this, that he who cognizes most and most generally, is likely to make the most numerous, and the most suitable, volitions. The less a person knows about himself and the universe outside him, the more must he be at the mercy of his instinctive tendencies, the less will he be truly able to exercise his "free-will." The exercise of free-will depends upon the fullest use of knowledge to free ourselves from unconscious motivation—the very thing that being psycho-analysed affords us. But this word *motive* brings us to the core of the volitional structures of the mind. Just as "memories" and knowledge are our cognitive structures, and just as sentiments and tastes are affective structures, so motives are the volitional structures.

MOTIVES AS THE MAINSPRINGS OF ACTION

WHAT, then, is a motive? At the present moment I am writing these lines with a strong motive in mind—with several, perhaps, but the strongest is one that is driving me to complete this section on psychology by to-morrow morning. During the past week this has been a dominant motive. I realised that something can be, and has to be accomplished, through my voluntary action, and this realisation of a value that I can gain constitutes a motive. A motive is of the same nature as a determining tendency.

But there are different kinds of motives. We are not concerned, of course, with the ethical value of motives, with whether they are good ones or bad ones. Psychology knows no value of this kind. The person who is planning a minor war in an out-of-the-way republic for the sake of selling his machine-guns and ammunition, has motives of a very high order psychologically, although ethically they are no doubt thoroughly despicable. The *lower* motives, psychologically, are merely those whose end is the satisfaction of immediate pleasure. One would call my present motive—one that is turning my attention towards supper—lowly. I see that it is desirable for me to have supper, I recognise that I want it, and I realise that I can go for it myself through my own volition. It is lowly because it serves an immediate end.

Higher motives, on the other hand, are more complex cognitively, and may stretch over a very long period of time. The young man or woman begins an academic career with a motive in mind: it is that which calls him to succeed in examinations, and to do so through his own action. There is no immediate pleasure so gained, and the value to be gained is a very general one. We can have *inner* motives, those we do not want others to see (besides many that we are quite unaware of ourselves), as well as *outer* ones, those which we are at pains to allow others to see.

A comparison should be made between sentiments and motives.

Professor McDougall believes that sentiments are driving forces to action ; but he has confused, I think, motives and sentiments. Sentiments are quite interesting things, but in themselves they tend to be somewhat useless, like most affective experiences. They are luxuries that the truly rational person can scarcely afford—although, to be sure, they add variety and delight to life, and no doubt frequently serve to give a certain coherence to activity. But in motives we touch in a more intimate way, I think, the core of *character*. McDougall, we remember, wanted to explain character in terms of sentiments. But that person who acts by will and voluntary action, who has firmly founded motives (whatever their ethical value) must be considered to be the person of finest character. It is well known that a person's character often changes radically for the better in the course of a psycho-analysis, and the reason lies to a large extent in this matter of volition.

HOW HABIT AND PERSEVERANCE CEMENT OUR CHARACTERS

SEVERAL questions are now urgent. Can we improve our character, in the above sense? Can we measure it? Is character innate or acquired? Let us take the questions in order. The formation of suitable *habits* may go a long way towards improving one's character. What we cannot gain by virtue of our present intention we might gain gradually by forming suitable habits to that end. Thus, the young man who wants to succeed academically, say, forms habits of work, habits of rising early in the morning, and so forth. These feed the higher motives, and help thereby to knit the character more firmly. Similarly the desirable goals of life can be shown to us, by our parents, and by our religious and moral no less than by our scholastic and physical teachers.

Can we measure a person's character? Many attempts have been made. We draw a distinction in the first place between temperament and character. Temperament, we have already seen, is a result of affective structures of the mind : I mentioned earlier that tests of *fluency* supplied a measurement of temperament, and estimates of a person's *introversion* or *extraversion* come within the same affective field of the mind. But character is a volitional matter. Hundreds of tests have been made in America in attempts to measure character—the astonishing thing being that these tests were made by people who did not believe in volition at all! By means of such tests we can test honesty, trustworthiness, reliability, and the like. Now, to act honestly implies action by reason, habit, and will : there must be motives for such actions, especially if immediate gain can accrue from easily perpetrated dishonest acts. Or we can rate people for traits of this kind and find which has, all-round, the best character. Strangely enough, one of the best tests of character is one that seems at first sight to have nothing to do with character. We can readily pick out the unreliable, untrustworthy, and difficult child in a school by applying several tests of the following kind :

A ZIGZAG TEST

- (1) Write as many capital Z's as you can, with good quality, in 1 minute.
- (2) Repeat for another minute.

- (3) *Now write as many reverse Z's as you can in a minute—that is, write them all thus :*

Σ Σ Σ Σ

- (4) *Repeat for another minute.*

- (5) *Now write straightforward Z's and Σ's alternately—that is, write them thus for 1 minute :*

Z Σ Z Σ Z Σ

- (6) *Repeat for 1 minute.*

A rest of 15 seconds is allowed between each minute's writing. It is found that the highly difficult children fare very poorly at the alternate writing at (5) and (6), compared with their ability at the more straightforward writing. Children of poor character seem unable to write ZΣ rapidly. But why this should be so is something of a mystery still. The simplest theory is that this ZΣ-writing, being a little more difficult to do, offers an obstacle to those whose motives are not strong ones. The child of poor character cannot surmount the difficulty under the circumstances of the test.

Finally, is character innate? We can see how much it depends upon habits, upon training, upon desirable motives being shown us. It obviously depends, too, on our intelligence. The more intelligent a person, the more likely he is to have a firm character, other things being equal. Yet some people seem to go through life untaught and untutored who have yet character in our sense of the word. It would seem that, almost lost in the masses of cognitions, memories, habits, sentiments, and the like, there is yet an indication that some people are more prone to make decisions and to act upon them persistently. The decision when made may not be different to anyone else's, but the man of innate character makes them more frequently and on better grounds.

THE TOTAL PERSONALITY

To end this section I need only draw together the various threads of my argument, fitting them together to make my picture of a person's total personality. An individual has personality to the extent that he is different from others. He differs from others cognitively, affectively, and volitionally. He has certain abilities, and certain structures of the mind, and these differentiate him from other human beings and give him his individuality.

Of the structures I may refer again to his knowledge, his retrospectible "memories" in the field of cognition. Subservient to these structures he has certain abilities, machines of the mind, so to speak. Amongst these are his educative ability, his special imagery facilities, and minor abilities constructed out of these and experience together. In the affective field he has sentiments, tastes, and his temperament.

Finally, there are our motives, conscious and subconscious. The latter include our innate propensities, whilst the former are the basis of all action, although fed, no doubt, by subconscious (or unconscious) motives. Motives are the volitional structures of the mind, and volition is the machine, so to speak, that produces them and sends them on their determined way. We have seen that *character* seems to be partly

a structure of the mind, the person's motives, and partly the machine-like ability that makes it easier for one person to have a firmer character than another. All these various structures and abilities or machines give the person his personality.

HOW TO FOLLOW UP THIS COURSE

FOR additional reading the following books are suggested. One might begin with A. W. P. Wolter's *The Evidence of our Senses* (Methuen), a most stimulating introductory book. *The Theory and Practice of Psychology*, by Dr. Wynn Jones (Macmillan), is perhaps the best general book on the topics covered by the above account of psychology. R. H. Thouless's *The Control of the Mind* and *Straight and Crooked Thinking* (Hodder & Stoughton) are entertaining and valuable introductions to their subjects. On sentiments and the like one cannot do better than read Professor McDougall's *The Energies of Man* (Methuen). For more advanced students the following could be the basis of extended reading: C. Spearman's *Creative Mind* (Nisbet), R. Wheeler's *The Laws of Human Nature* (Nisbet), and the brilliant study by Professor Aveling, *Personality and Will* (Nisbet), which is difficult to read, but worth all one's effort and contemplation. Professor Lindworsky's *Experimental Psychology* gives a well-seasoned description of psychology: the book (published by Allen & Unwin) is not easy to follow, but is full of sound natural material. One might end one's days reading and studying Spearman's *The Nature of Cognition*, the classical work on cognition (Macmillan).

“THE WRITTEN TROUBLES OF THE BRAIN”

by PATRICK SLATER, B.A.(Oxon)

WE have read in the preceding article how the conscious mind works, how we know, feel, and will—problems which have occupied scientists and thinkers for centuries. But the study of the unconscious, all that region of desires which have been suppressed and locked out of the mind, is the youngest of the sciences. It is not less useful for that reason. Many mental disorders, from cases which need hospital treatment to those everyday ones of inefficiency, unreasonable fears, and lack of power to concentrate, are due to the activities of forces beneath the level of consciousness. This article, after describing the nervous disorders which are caused by the damming up of the unconscious mind—just as headaches frequently result from indigestion—goes on to explain the three schools of contemporary thought about the fascinating realm of the unconscious. The theories of Freud, Jung, and Adler have survived a certain amount of scepticism in the public mind. It will be seen from the following article that they do not, as is sometimes supposed, conflict to the extent of cancelling each other out. Each of the three scientists has selected a separate field—Freud the sexual problem, Adler the problem of social adjustment, and Jung that of psychological types.

IN the previous sections we have learned something about how the mind works ; we have formed some idea of what energy it uses, of the way we perceive, the way we think, and the ways in which we tend to act. Now we must try to find out what happens when the mind becomes upset, what forces prevent it from working properly, and what is the right way of treating a sick mind, in order to make it well.

Some children do badly in their school work because they are really stupid, but other children are just lazy, and could do quite well if they tried. When Binet and Simon made their first intelligence tests, it was for the purpose of separating the stupid children from the lazy ones ; because if a child is really stupid, it is not worth while giving him an education of the kind meant for clever children, but if a child is just lazy, then we must find some way of making him interested in his work—and once he is really interested, we shall expect to find him just as clever as the other boys.

So the first intelligence tests were made. And now that tests have been used and improved, and used again, for nearly thirty years, we have measures of intelligence which are accurate and reliable. These tests show us that intelligence is normally distributed. Stupid children are not in a class by themselves. When we separate them from clever children, we have to make a quite artificial dividing-line. To say that every child with an intelligence quotient ¹ of less than seventy is mentally deficient, is like saying that every grown man who is less than four feet high

¹ See page 39.

is a pigmy. The dividing-line has to be made, but the exact spot where it is put is largely a matter of convenience.

But when we come to aberrations of the mind, the "normal" man is really an ideal. He is not the same as an average man. For it has been said that everyone is a little mad. And there are many different kinds of mental disorders; some of them go through the strangest changes as they develop: they fade off into one another; they may appear suddenly and abruptly, or creep upon us very slowly and gradually. If we took an average, we should find that the average man has a little of every possible kind of mental disorder; he would not be at all like the "normal" man, who is supposed to be free from any kind of disorder.

GHOSTS AND FANCIES: THE PSYCHOSES

THE disorders which most frequently bring on temporary or lifelong insanity are the psychoses. One of the commonest and most serious of them is *Schizophrenia*. It is also one of the most tragic, for it often affects the young and promising, and leads to lifelong existence within asylum walls. The sufferer loses all interest in his ordinary life and work. He shows no affection for his relatives, he is not amused or moved to sorrow by any of the happenings around him. He appears to be completely absorbed in himself. While the outer world fails to interest him, he finds a ceaseless occupation for his thoughts in an inner world of fantasy. He may see visions and hear voices. He may form strange ideas of his own grandeur, or of the ill-will of those around him. His thinking becomes twisted, so that though he talks freely, his ideas are impossible to follow. Or he may remain listless and apathetic, scarcely speaking or moving for years on end, so that even his washing and feeding have to be done for him.

Yet somewhere beneath there remains a mind which is acute and master of itself. A sudden attack of pneumonia, for instance, may for a time awake the sleeping personality again; he may show that he has not failed to notice what has gone on around him. And it is possible for a permanent cure to be effected.

Another common disorder is *Cyclothymia*, which appears in two forms—melancholia and mania. The occasion from which melancholia starts may seem natural enough—the loss of a relative, or a failure in love or ambition—but as it gets blacker, its morbid nature appears. The patient sits about in helpless despair, he speaks in slow and mournful tones, his thoughts are long delayed; or he frets himself with countless worries, and accuses himself of exaggerated or fancied sins. He may refuse food because he is unworthy of the attention which he receives, or he may make desperate and in many cases successful attempts at suicide. Eventually, perhaps over the course of months, his gloom passes, and he is restored to his normal health and cheerfulness.

Mania, the other kind of *Cyclothymia*, is exactly the opposite condition. It may start as an unusual flow of good spirits, surprising alertness and brilliance; and, with this, exaggerated optimism and self-esteem. The patient feels capable of anything, he keeps up a continual stream of activities, talking, laughing, cracking jokes, making arrangements and

plans, ordering others about in the most dictatorial way. If crossed in his wishes, he may fly into a violent rage, and then as rapidly repent. He cannot understand that there is anything wrong with him, and fiercely resents the suggestion ; yet care is most necessary, for not only may he bring others into trouble through his hasty actions, but he may wear himself out with his ceaseless activity, which leaves him no time for food or sleep. Nearly all cases of this illness recover completely after a time.

That melancholia and mania are two phases of the same disorder is shown by the fact that often after the patient has recovered from one, he may succumb to a more or less mild attack of the other. Or the sufferer from one illness may have relatives who have suffered from the other.

THE METICULOUS MAN AND THE SHOWY WOMAN

OTHER disorders of the mind, the *neuroses*, seldom go so far as to make it necessary to shut the patient up in a hospital or asylum. One of the most interesting of the *neuroses* is the *obsession*. The man who is predisposed towards this disorder is apt to be hard and stern, with fixed opinions on a number of subjects. He must have everything in its proper place, neatly arranged. He shows a fondness for collecting things—anything from china *bric-à-brac* to brown paper and string. All his actions have to obey strict rules and regulations—he may, for instance, pick his steps along the street with the utmost care, so as to avoid treading on the cracks between the paving-stones.

In such a character the obsession may readily grow. He begins to feel uncertain that everything is just the way it should be. He is not satisfied with seeing that everything is done correctly ; he must do it over and over again, to make sure. Once he was scrupulously clean, now he is always washing and rewashing his hands. Behind him, driving him on, is a terrible fear, which he cannot understand. The only way that he can ward it off is by these incessant rituals, which allow him no time or rest.

Another common neurosis is *hysteria*. It, too, seems to go with a particular type of character. People of hysterical temperament are often unusually successful in society. They are alive to every change of mood in the company around them ; they are easily moved to tears and laughter. They have a great desire for the crowd's admiration and attention, and they will spare no effort to reach the spot where the lime-lights are focused. They will readily change sides, wherever it is to their own advantage to do so. They are the great self-deceivers of the world, and will have a good reason for everything they do, no matter how selfish and contemptible. If crossed in their desires they become angry and petulant ; they are grand at making a scene. Yet among such people are many great politicians, great actors and actresses, great revivalists.

In the morbid development of hysteria, the patient advances a stage further in his self-deception. One part of his mind seems to be completely shut off from another ; even a whole part of his body may cease to exist for him, and there is an hysterical paralysis of an arm or a leg.

Or the patient loses all memory of a large period of his life. In some rare cases the character becomes divided into two or more entirely different personalities, each of which in turn controls the actions of the body. One personality may play impish tricks on the other ; and the other, when it takes control, knows nothing of what the first has done.

The hysteric is profoundly sensitive to suggestion ; he copies physical disorders, of which he has seen or heard, to the life. His capacity for creating a scene may go so far as to produce convulsions that terrify the onlookers. Yet there is a motive for all that he does, and the advantage he obtains is often apparent to everyone but the patient himself. For this reason he is often treated as a poser, a hypocrite, a malingerer—an unjust attitude, for the patient's desires to impress and to deceive are not ones of which he is conscious himself.

Of all patients the hysteric is most easily influenced by hypnotism, and the great cures of this treatment, and other methods such as the miracle-working shrine at Lourdes, have been made on cases of hysteria. In treatment, the physician can readily impress the patient, through hypnotism or otherwise, with the fact that his illness is not real, and so drive it out. But such treatment cannot be guaranteed to produce permanent results. As long as the patient has something to gain by being ill, a relapse is liable to occur, or one illness may be cured only to be followed by another still more obstinate to treatment.

HOW MENTAL DISORDERS MAY BE CURED

IN this little survey we have been able to look at no more than a few of the commoner disorders of the mind. We have paid attention only to those kinds which are called "functional." No matter how closely we might examine the people who suffer from these disorders, we should not be able to discover anything wrong with their physical health, such as might have been responsible for setting up a disturbance in their minds.

In cases of advanced schizophrenia, physical changes may often be observed. The lines of the face become coarsened, the eyes become dulled, the fine indications of character disappear, as if the patient had sunk into a purely vegetable existence. But such changes can clearly be seen to be the results, not the causes, of the mental disorder. Again, an hysteric may perhaps appear to be completely paralysed in his right arm, yet when we come to examine the bones, the joints, the ligaments, the muscles, the veins, the nerves—nowhere are the physical symptoms of paralysis to be found, no reason can be discovered why he should not use his arm if he wanted to.

How far such a patient differs from one who is suffering from general paralysis of the insane ! This is an "organic" disorder, one which develops in the last stages of syphilis, as the disease penetrates to the very marrow of the bones. The patient's control over the movements of his limbs becomes more and more erratic, and as decay permeates the fibres of the spinal cord and the brain, insanity ensues.

Even in these last terrible stages, modern science has found methods of combating the dangers of organic insanity. Here at least we know

a great deal about the nature of the disease and the stages of its development ; but how can we discover the true causes of the functional disorders, where there is no damage to the body, no poisons or infections to be found in any of its systems ? What medicines, what treatments can we prescribe ? We are faced with that challenge to science :

“ Canst thou not minister to a mind diseas’d,
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,
Raze out the written troubles of the brain,
And with some sweet oblivious antidote
Cleanse the stuff’d bosom of that perilous stuff
Which weighs upon the heart ? ”

Within limits, yes ! Cures can be effected, though hardly by the means that Macbeth suggests. We know, now, that the anxieties which prey upon the conscious mind are not so deep or so difficult to alleviate as those which are thrust from it and apparently forgotten. No drugs or opiates which artificially blot out the painful feelings from the mind are likely to effect a cure—forgetfulness is one of the greatest obstacles against which the physician of the mind has to struggle. The reply of the doctor then, as now, is :

“ Therein the patient
Must minister to himself.”

But our increasing insight into the causes of mental disorders has brought with it the knowledge of many ways in which the doctor can give valuable help to the patient.

Inherited mental deficiency, it is true, is something for which no cure is known. But there is a world of difference between the deficient and the insane or the neurotic. The mind of the deficient is not turned away from reality, nor is it divided against itself ; there is no reason why his life should not be as happy and as complete within its scope as those of cleverer men—indeed, according to Ecclesiastes, in much wisdom is much grief.

We must remember, too, that much of what appears as mental deficiency arises from circumstances which are capable of control. If through force of circumstances children are habitually underfed, their vitality becomes diminished, the quality of their school work falls off, their rate of learning becomes slower, and they exhibit all the signs of poor mental ability. The cure for this is obvious enough. Unhappy home life, too, or the mild forms of neurotic disorder which frequently occur in children, may prevent them from concentrating, and prove to be the real causes which lie behind an apparent weakness of intelligence ; and such disorders can generally be given beneficial treatment.

THE DARK FORCES OF THE MIND IN FLOOD

IN our study of the neurotic disorders and the insanities, we find that the mind has often to struggle against itself ; that the energy upon which it draws rises from hidden springs, and that, at times, the dark forces in it may prove too strong for conscious control, may rise like a

swelling flood and submerge the reason, or lead to long, exhausting, and indecisive struggles, destroying the possibility of a normal and healthy life. What are these dark forces? How do they arise? And how can they be controlled?

No thorough method of treatment can be devised unless an answer can be found to these questions. Yet even without knowing very much about them, we can do much to help the patient to regain control over the hidden forces of his mind. Although it is within the mind that the struggles take place which manifest themselves as mental disorders, outside influences such as misfortunes, disappointments, or family quarrels may have been largely responsible for bringing on the internal struggle. Patients may quite well be treated by taking them away from these outside influences, giving them rest of body and mind, treating them for any physical ailments they may have, and thus nursing them back to mental health. Many kinds of treatment may be used, from simple sympathy, discussing his difficulties with the patient, giving him advice, continual reassurance and encouragement, to a prolonged psycho-analysis in special cases, where the mind can still be influenced in this way, and nothing less will do.

Psycho-analysis is not suitable for the treatment of every case of nervous disorder. In order to succeed, it must ally itself with some force in the patient's mind which can be turned into a genuine desire to become well. Such a force can readily be found in cases of neurosis, where one force or group of forces is in conflict with another. But we must not regard our classification of different types of disorder as something hard and fast. Even where the diagnosis is different, the patient may show some desire, such as an attachment to a nurse or a doctor, which may be used as an avenue or approach into the recesses of the patient's mind, and pave the way to a cure. Psycho-analysis, as the most thorough of the methods of treatment, offers us the deepest insight into the ways in which the mind works.

THE CENSORED WORLD: FREUD AND THE UNCONSCIOUS

THERE are many things we do, many ideas that come into our heads, for which we do not consider ourselves responsible. We do not consider ourselves to blame when we make an occasional slip of the tongue or of the pen—then why do we make them? Sometimes when we want to remember a name or a date, it completely escapes our memory. We know that in a few hours, when it is too late to be of any use, the name will come back—then why does it elude us now?

Many people would say that this is all just a matter of chance. It is the merest coincidence that I forget some fact just at the moment when it happens to be important. It is just a matter of chance that my tongue tricks me into saying something that I did not mean, something that I would rather have left unsaid.

To say that this is chance is to say that there is no explanation, that there are no known forces which produce these events. But perhaps we say that they are a matter of chance because we do not want to have them explained. We do not want to know what forces might have

produced them. It took a man of exceptional insight and courage, Sigmund Freud, to insist that every occurrence of this kind can be explained, and to find a way of explaining it.

Yet this is only one of the smallest parts of Freud's work. The ordinary man may forget a single name, or a date, for a few hours only; the hysteric forgets complete episodes, possibly many years of his life. Why does this vast loss of memory occur? Freud has shown that the forces which produce the small loss of memory are the same as those which produce the large.

There are other mental events which seem equally unaccountable—our dreams. They come upon us in strange, fantastic shapes, not of our own choosing. Each dream is an adventure, and each episode in it unexpected. Why does our fancy spin these tales at night?

"Why did I dream last night of crossing a railway-track and walking up a lane?" If you had asked such a question at the beginning of this century, you might have got an answer of a sort—a theory of how dreams might occur, something which would have explained everything but why the dream was about railway-tracks and lanes, and why you dreamt it last night. But Freud's work on dreams has become so famous that by now, although we may not know what the causes of that dream were, we all know that they can be found, if the dream is properly analysed.

Any why does the obsessed man feel compelled to wash his hands many times a day, to do everything by twos or threes, to observe countless trivial rituals? Freud has succeeded in showing that the same forces which, in us, produce our dreams at night, govern the actions and rituals in the obsessed man, by which he relieves himself of his fear.

What are these strange forces? It would be tempting to hurry on at once to a description of them, and how they work; but there is something so new and strange about them that it is difficult to believe that they can really exist until we have seen the methods by which they have been discovered.

DREAMS THAT REVEAL OUR INNERMOST DESIRES

LET us take a dream of which Freud has offered a partial analysis, and see how its meaning is uncovered from the strange disguise in which it is presented.

"A young woman who had already been married for a number of years dreamt as follows: She was at the theatre with her husband, and one side of the stalls was empty. Her husband told her that Elise L. and her fiancé also wanted to come, but could only get bad seats, three for a florin and a half, and of course they could not take those. She replied that in her opinion they did not lose much by that."

Instead of trying to guess at once what is the meaning of the whole dream, let us take it bit by bit. What is the meaning of *the half-empty theatre*? The young wife explains that it has something to do with what happened to her a week before. She had been so anxious to see a certain play that she had paid an extra price so as to get her tickets early. But when she and her husband went, the stalls were half empty. Her husband

had teased her about being in such a hurry to get her tickets. And what about the bad seats at *three for a florin and a half*? The money, 1 fl. 50, suggests quite a new idea. Her sister-in-law had had a present of 150 florins from her husband, and had rushed off in a hurry to spend it all on a piece of jewellery.

Why should both these events be brought together in the same dream? Is there any connection between them? Do not we notice a refrain, a kind of moral, running through both of them—"It is foolish to act in a hurry; one can do much better if one waits"? She had been in a hurry to get her tickets, her sister-in-law had been in a hurry to get her jewellery; both of them should have waited.

THE SECRET WISHES OF THE DISCONTENTED WIFE

AND where do Fräulein Elise L. and her fiancé come in? The young wife has already been married for some time; her friend, Elise, who is about the same age, has only just become engaged. Now we begin to suspect the meaning of the dream. Perhaps the idea behind it all is this: I was a fool to get married in such a hurry; I should have waited, like Elise, and got a better husband for myself.

Can we prove this? Is there any reason why *going to the theatre* should represent getting married? When first the young girl becomes interested in sex, she has to satisfy her curiosity by watching lovers when they are together, perhaps by catching a glimpse of her parents. Going to a theatre, seeing a show, expresses, by metaphor, one way of getting to know about sexual matters, and hence suggests another way—marriage. And there is another clue. Why are the tickets at *three for one florin and a half*? Why should Elise L. and her fiancé want three tickets, when there are only two of them? What is the meaning of the number *three*? The young wife is quite unable to explain.

Freud has found, in quite a number of dreams, elements like this number three which cannot be explained by any recollections of the dreamer. But by comparing many dreams together, by tracing connections between dreams and primitive religious myths, even by gathering clues from popular catchwords, the meaning of such elements was gradually discovered. The sacred number three is so rich in religious, mythological, and superstitious associations that to trace them all might lead us any distance. But the most primitive of all trinities is that of the penis and the two testicles: and hence the number three has become a *symbol* of the male genitals. It is found over and over again, in different people's dreams, with this same meaning. And when the lady dreams that tickets to the theatre are being sold at three for a florin and a half, the thought at the back of her mind is that husbands are easy to get, and that she could have had a much better husband for the dowry that her father gave her.

From this example of how a dream is analysed, we can learn much. First of all, we can see how far we have to go from the original matter, the conscious ideas of the dream, in order to discover where its meaning is hidden. The dreamer has no idea what the dream means, and yet she has in her possession all, or nearly all, the facts which are needed

in order to discover its meaning. This meaning behind the dream is what Freud calls the *latent dream*, while what is actually dreamt and remembered is called the *manifest dream*.

We see how many changes the meaning has to go through, how it has to be disguised, before it can become a dream. The idea of "being in a hurry" does not appear in the manifest dream at all; it has been pushed out of place,¹ and only a few hints are left behind that it is there. And although all these little hints at the real thought are really quite separate from each other, yet they have been tied together² in the manifest dream, and a little story has been made out of them. We saw how first one meaning was found in the idea, "three for one and a half florins," and then, when we examined it a little farther, we found another. And in going to the theatre we found not one, but two different meanings. But we do not reject the first meaning when we accept the second. The dream cannot be fully understood unless we consider all the possible meanings of each dream element. Several meanings are often packed together³ in one fragment of a dream.

But when we see how many complicated processes have gone into the making of this dream it seems as if, instead of understanding it more and more, we understand it less and less. The small problems are answered—we know how the parts of the dream really hang together, and what the meaning of the dream is—but larger problems immediately arise. Why are so many processes, so many disguises necessary? What prevents us from seeing at once what the dream means?

WHY DREAMS PREVARICATE

LET us look over what has happened since we began trying to find out the meaning of this dream. Was it not rather bold to suppose, as we did when we started, that there was more in the dream than the dreamer remembered? We allowed ourselves to suppose that there were things in the dreamer's own mind that were quite unknown to him. And it is lucky that we made this assumption, because we should not have got anywhere without it. "Of course," you will say, "I cannot keep everything in my mind all the time; I just remember the important things and let the trivial things slide. No doubt I could remember them if I tried." But this is just exactly the opposite of what happens in the dream. All the trivial little details come into your mind, but the important matter, the real meaning of the dream, is held back and has to be dug out with the greatest difficulty. How can this have happened?

When we compare the manifest dream with its hidden meaning, we can quite understand why the meaning should have been cut out. The dream, as it appears, is a harmless little story, that no one would mind dreaming. But how about its meaning? Is wishing you had waited and got a better husband for yourself quite a harmless little wish? Is it not something rather shocking, something that, even during the daytime, you would want to shut out of your mind?

I am afraid you will have to agree that there must be two forces at the back of your mind that you know nothing about: one pulling this

¹ Displacement (Freud). ² Secondary Elaboration (Freud). ³ Condensation (Freud).

way, one pulling that ; one trying to force ideas into your mind, one trying to keep them out. And neither of them can claim a complete victory over the other. If one of them—the force which Freud calls the *Id*¹—had been completely victorious, the whole of the latent dream would have entered your mind unaltered. If the other—the force which Freud calls the *Super-Ego*²—had won, the dream would never have been dreamt at all. But neither of them quite defeats the other : the *Super-Ego* manages to keep the real meaning of the dream out of your mind ; but the *Id* manages to slip a few of its suggestions past the *Super-Ego*—just enough to make up the substance of your dream. That is why the dream has to be broken up, twisted around, disguised, and re-shaped—in order to get past the *Super-Ego*.

Now we begin to be in a position where we can link up our knowledge about dreams with our knowledge about lapses of memory and slips of the tongue. We begin to think that it is not just chance that makes the hysteric forget large periods of his life. These forgotten periods are almost certainly the most important periods—some unconscious force must have driven them out of his memory. In order to find out what is wrong with him we must uncover those periods again. And similarly when we forget something that we want to remember—this must be because some unconscious force is keeping the memory away from us. There must be something about this memory which is repulsive to our *Super-Ego*. And when we make little slips of the tongue—when we mean to be polite, and really say something quite rude—there must be some unconscious force which has thrust the wrong words into our mouth. Perhaps, although we refused to acknowledge it to ourselves, we really wanted to be rude. This makes it all the more important to find out more about these unconscious forces. Whence do they spring ? Why are they opposed to one another ?

HOW CONFLICT ENTERS THE CHILD MIND

FREUD describes, among others, the dream of a child one year and ten months old. This little boy, Hermann, had to present someone with a basket of cherries as a birthday gift. He did it very unwillingly, and next morning he told his dream : "Hermann eaten all the cherries." Such children's dreams show clearly that there is no unconscious conflict in the young child. The dream has not been cut up, and had all its important matter removed, leaving it like a heavily censored article—no, it expresses the wish of the child simply and directly.

That grouping of two opposed forces at the back of the mind only develops as the child grows up, it is not born within him. The process which brings it about is not completed until the child is six or seven. In the baby there are no moral scruples ; it is in the same state as Adam in the Garden of Eden, knowing neither good nor evil. The child follows a quest for pleasure, and finds it first of all in its mouth—in sucking at its mother's breast, or sucking its finger, or its big toe, or a comforter, or anything else it can lay hands on.

Then presently it begins to find pleasures in other parts of its body—

¹ *Id* (Latin) = That.

² *Super-Ego* (Latin) = Over-Self.

first of all in the anal regions and in the activities of excretion, and finally the genitals become the centre of its interest. Each part of the body is explored, and its appropriate pleasures discovered, before the baby begins to find a pleasure in its body as a whole.

While it is exploring the parts of its body, it is going through what Freud calls the *auto-erotic phase*¹ of development; and when it begins to find its pleasures in its body as a whole, and in forming fanciful opinions about itself, it is entering the *narcissistic phase*.² Of course these phases are not separated from one another by a sharp, sudden dividing-line; the child's interest is gradually transformed.

FORBIDDEN WISHES THAT MAY BE TRANSFORMED INTO NOBLE IDEALS

ITS development does not normally cease at the narcissistic phase. From its interest in itself, the child's search for pleasure becomes focused on people and things outside itself; it passes into the third, last phase of *object-love*. The child's love of its parents at last begins to be a real motive power. And when this happens, the desire for pleasure—the *libido*—begins to be divided against itself. The first object of the boy's love is his mother; and as his love for his mother develops, there grow up, beside it, hatred and jealousy for his father. These desires cannot be given a direct expression—the boy cannot follow the example of *Œdipus*, and kill his own father and marry his mother. But such desires exist within him, and they form what is called the *Œdipus complex*.

How can these desires become satisfied? They cannot, unless they can be transformed. How can they be transformed and adapted to normal social life? For they must, and they can. The boy's love for his mother, even the jealousy for his father which springs originally from the same source, may become a powerful, ennobling force. If he wishes to win his mother's love, to oust his father from her affections, how can the boy fulfil his wishes? He must try to make of himself someone of whom his mother can be proud, he must try to take his father's place in the family by being like a grown man, taking responsibilities, proving his powers.

From wishing to win his mother's love, the boy comes to wish to make something great and noble out of himself; he sets before himself an ideal of conduct; and as his desires turn in this new direction, towards the achievement of this new ideal, his mother fades from the centre of his interest, and his desires, focused upon this ideal self, become the forces of the Super-Ego. Although his desires cannot be expressed in their primitive forms, yet by passing through this process—the process of *sublimation*, as it is called—they can become transformed and purified, and so attain expression.

But it would be difficult to imagine, and still harder to find, anyone in whom this transformation had been entirely successful. Not all the forces of the boy's love for his mother can become idealised and attached to the Super-Ego. Some of his desires become exalted and transformed; others, robbed of anything good and valuable that they contained in

¹ From the Greek words *autos* (self) and *eros* (love).

² From the myth of Narcissus, who fell in love with his own reflection in a pool.

their primitive forms, become thrust back ; they are not allowed to express themselves, and they form a group of forbidden wishes, incestuous desires for the mother, death-wishes against the father—the repressed forces of the Id. Of this part of our nature, Freud writes :

" It (the Id) feels itself at one with all the demands of the sexual impulse, those which have long been condemned by our æsthetic training and those which are contrary to all the restraints imposed by morality. It chooses its objects unchecked by any inhibition, preferring indeed those which are forbidden : not merely the wife of another man, but, above all, the incestuous objects of choice which by common consent humanity holds sacred—the mother and the sister of men, the father and the brother of women. Hate, too, rages unrestrainedly ; wishes for revenge, and death-wishes, against those who in life are nearest and dearest—parents, brothers and sisters, husband or wife, or children—are by no means uncommon."

THE BURIED HISTORY OF OUR DESIRES

WE have glimpsed the two conflicting groups of hidden forces which carry on their work upon our conscious thoughts. We have some idea of what we should discover, if we were able, for a moment, to look beneath the surface of our minds. But such a thing is well-nigh impossible. Neither of these conflicting forces is known directly to us. Just as our idea of our body is really an idea of the surface of our skin—we cannot see the shape of our skeleton, the convolutions of our intestines, or the other things which lie beneath—so the desires of which we are aware are only the surface desires ; we know them at the point where they come into contact with reality, but we do not know, we can only guess through what fierce mental conflicts they may have passed before they reach the surface.

In the adult man, not only are these forces themselves hidden in the unconscious, but the whole period during which they developed disappears from memory, and we are faced with the remarkable phenomenon of *infantile amnesia*—that is to say, the fact that scarcely anyone can recall more than a few isolated, fragmentary incidents from the period before he was six or seven years old, the period before the two rival forces of the unconscious have become organised in their mature forms.

Yet primitive mythologies and religions, we find, are full of mystical images describing in a symbolic way the divided forces of the human mind. Above the human world, the world of the conscious mind, is pictured an ideal world, a heaven, and beneath, a world of outcast, evil forces, a hell. These images we find not only in the Christian religion, but in most other creeds—the Orphic creed reveals to us the Gods in Olympus and the Titans thrust down beneath the crust of the earth ; the Scandinavian Edda shows us the Gods and the heroes gathered together in Asgard ; and the Giants, the evil forces, driven out beyond the rim of the earth. How could anyone understand or believe in such fanciful pictures if he had not, in a manner of speaking,

a heaven and a hell, as well as a conscious world, a God and a Devil, as well as a man, within him?

It may seem, when we consider these facts, that we have done no more than give new scientific names to things of which we have long possessed a dim, unscientific apprehension. But this is not all. With our new knowledge we link up a new approach to the problems of human behaviour and a new practice in our method of dealing with them.

One of the most important functions of religion in the past has been to ally itself with the heavenly powers—that is to say, with the forces of the Super-Ego—and thereby to strengthen the forces of repression, to drive farther and farther away from our ken the desires of the Id, the real springs of human activity. We may say that such a method of continual repression is full of dangers, in much the same way as a too elaborate separation and stratification of classes in society is dangerous. Repression leads only to an apparent, not a real weakening of the repressed forces. They become explosive, and the more tightly they are boxed in the more violent their explosion is liable to be. By repressing them, we obscure the symptoms of disorder, but we only increase the dangers. The forces of the Id must be allowed to find expression, not in violent, hysterical, and misdirected ways, but under conscious control and direction, so that their effects may not be evil.

In a sense, therefore, the new method no longer seeks to cast out the devil; it seeks, instead, like some benevolent magician, to raise up the devil, to look him in the face, to use his strength for good. Lest such a metaphor should prove misleading, let me add at once that the Super-Ego is certainly not divine, nor the Id diabolic; to imagine them endowed with these qualities implies an attitude of self-idolatry, and this is not wholesome.

HOW INNER CONFLICTS ARE EXPRESSED IN CONDUCT

WHAT, then, are the ways in which the rival forces of the unconscious—the Super-Ego and the Id—influence our conscious conduct? The motive forces of action rise from the Id, but only in so far as they agree with, or at least do not conflict with, the ideals of the Super-Ego are they able to reach the surface of consciousness. The forces of the Super-Ego are not able, of themselves, to motivate our actions. They restrain the impetuosities of the Id, they exercise a censorship over its wishes; they may at times prove over-officious, obstructive, rigid, and unyielding, or at times extremely lax and uncritical; although they perform a different activity, they are no less irrational than the forces of the Id, and are no more capable of emerging on to the surface of consciousness.

The conscious mind possesses only the function of discovering ways and means by which the unconscious motives may be fulfilled. It is neither able to originate any spontaneous motive, nor able to exercise any spontaneous control over the motives which penetrate to it from the unconscious. On the one hand, our thoughts are occupied with finding the means for giving expression to the surface desires—in this way they serve the purposes of the Id—and on the other hand they

are occupied with finding good reasons, or at least passable excuses for what we do—in this way they justify the workings of the Super-Ego. Reasons are found after decisions are made, not before.

Freud's theory has been called one of strict *psychological determinism*. This means that it is a theory which finds the explanation of every mental event—such as thoughts, desires, fears and anxieties, decisions, even dreams and slips of the tongue—in psychological causes, in the forces which operate on our minds unconsciously. It is "determinist," because it claims that none of these events is due to chance, but that each is the product of unconscious forces acting upon one another; it is "psychological," because it claims that these forces reside within us, and that, when we wish to discover their nature, we must do so by examining mental, not physical, facts.

"GIVE ME THE FIRST SEVEN YEARS. . ."

LET us stop for a moment and consider what these theories imply from the point of view of the parent. To begin with, we must note how extremely important it is for the child to complete a successful psychological development during the first six or seven years of its life. An unsuccessful development over these years is the hardest thing in the world to remedy later on. To failures in this period almost all the neuroses, the psychoses, and the sexual perversions can be traced.

In the second place, we notice that the character of the child is undergoing many changes during this period. The task of the parent is to try to understand the child, and to help in its development. In its first year of life, for instance, the child is absolutely dependent upon its parents; nothing could be more harmful than to try to force independence upon it so early in life. But by the third or fourth year the child has developed extreme self-confidence, even self-conceit; then it would be equally harmful to try to break this down. It must be encouraged in its feelings of independence, though still it must be given a guarantee of security in its home.

Nor must we discourage the changing interests of the baby, though they may appear a trifle peculiar at times. For instance, there is no need to be horrified at its desire for sucking, if it does not suck anything very dirty. To stop the process of development at any point may hinder the success of the later stages. Above all, it is necessary to treat the child as someone with an entirely different character from the grown man, and not to expect adult behaviour from him, before he has formed an adult character. Fortunately there is a vigorous source of energy in the child, which enables him to overcome countless obstacles successfully in the course of his development.

What happens when development is unsuccessful? How are mental disorders brought on? Unusually such an unsuccessful development can be traced back to some sudden shock (*trauma*, as Freud calls it) in early childhood, before mature character has been formed. The child's desires are suddenly robbed of any outlet at a moment when they are intensely excited, and they remain pent up, never able to find a full release.

But we cannot say beforehand what kind of experience may cause

this sudden shock. Even to start with, one child is quite different from another. The make-up that one child inherits from its parents is different, and the surroundings in which it has to live are different from those of another. And what acts as a deep and lasting shock to one child may leave another completely unaffected.

BOMBSHELLS THAT LAY THE MIND IN RUINS

PENT-UP desire, when it can find no outlet, becomes transformed into fear or guilt. When the child longs for its mother at night, and cannot have her, its longing becomes transformed into fear of the dark. And nightmares result from the transformation of desire into fear. We dream that some overwhelming force is menacing us, and we wake up suddenly, oppressed with monstrous, unearthly fears. This is because the wishes of the Id have threatened to thrust themselves openly upon us, our Super-Ego is not strong enough to resist them, and, as a last defence, we have been forced to break off our slumbers. The pent-up desires which are left behind when the shock is felt in childhood become a lasting source of fear and guilt, threatening to intrude upon our minds.

The symptoms of the neurotic offer a path of escape from fear and guilt. His mental life begins to centre around a problem which belongs to the time when the shock was felt—a problem which is no longer real. He must find a way out for his longings and his fears; but at the same time he must hold them back, because they threaten to overwhelm him. By a tremendous effort of will he thrusts a whole period of his life out of his memory—exactly that period which needs to be most fully understood, if his disorder is to be cured. Or he adopts apparently meaningless actions and rituals in order to allay his fears—but these actions and rituals, although meaningless in the sense that they have no real use in his life, are full of meaning to the psychologist, for they are the clues by which we can discover what was the nature of the shock which originally threw his development off the normal track.

In this way, neurotic symptoms are like dreams. The dream, too, gives a partial, inadequate expression to a forbidden desire. And the same methods which revealed the meaning of the dream from the fragments which reached consciousness will lead us from the symptoms of the neurotic to the unconscious disturbance which is the cause of his disorder.

There is no fundamental difference between hysteria and obsession. In each case the same hidden forces are at work, the same unconscious conflict exists. Whether the one disorder or the other results depends, not on the nature of the shock itself, but on the balance between the unconscious forces. In the hysterics, the forbidden desires of the Id are revealed in fantasies and symptoms; in the obsessions what we see most clearly is the struggle of the Super-Ego to dominate.

HELPING THE PATIENT TO "MINISTER TO HIMSELF"

BUT both disorders arise from the conflict of two opposing unconscious forces. What happens if development has been checked while the child is still in its earliest infancy, before the desire for pleasure

has been divided into two opposing forces? It is then that the way is prepared for the development of the psychoses and the sexual perversions. Since these disorders trace back to a time before the desire for pleasure had been divided against itself, there are no signs in them of any mental conflict. The patient appears to be perfectly satisfied with his own condition; he becomes completely immersed in the pursuit of his own ideas and fantasies; or he abandons himself to his misery; or he has a boundless self-confidence; or he feels no desire for normal sexual intercourse.

In Freud's method of treating mental disorders the patient is called upon to furnish his own cure. Just as Socrates led men to wisdom not by teaching them but by asking them questions, the analyst leads the patient to understand himself by pursuing his inquiries until nothing is left undiscovered. If the patient opposes himself to the analyst, and determines to hold back vital facts, the analyst is likely to discover this soon enough, but he cannot pursue his treatment until the patient is willing to co-operate again.

It would be possible to find out what is wrong with the patient very quickly by hypnotising him and obtaining the information during the trance. By this method a temporary cure can often be effected. But it will not last. The patient must discover for himself what is his trouble if he is to free himself of it for ever.

It is for this reason that psycho-analysis is more successful with the neuroses than with the other mental disorders. For where there is a conflict of desires, the patient can usually command enough resolution to pursue his cure to the end; but in the psychoses the patient has surrendered himself to his disorder, and feels no interest in curing himself.

We can regard Freud's method of treatment from another point of view. In his disordered conduct the patient is reacting not to the situation in which he finds himself, but to a situation which belongs to the past—the situation which first checked the normal outlet of his desires. For the analyst, the ways in which the patient behaves are the clues which lead back to this past situation, and when all these clues have been traced back successfully, the analyst has solved his problem. When the patient fully understands the past situation, his energies remain pent up no longer, they are released; and with their release the cure is effected.

MODERN MAN AND ANCIENT MYTH

FROM studying the ways in which men may become disordered in their minds, two important lines of thought have developed, which depart a long way from the opinions of Freud and his followers (*Psycho-analysis*). These two lines of thought were developed, one by Jung, most of whose work was done in Zürich, the other by Adler, who has worked, like Freud, mainly in Vienna. Jung distinguishes his theories by the name of *Analytical Psychology*, Adler his by the name of *Individual Psychology*.

It may seem strange, when we consider these theories in turn, that the same observed facts (the symptoms of the mental disorders) should be capable of being interpreted in such different ways; stranger still, that cures can be effected by such different methods of treatment. The fact that many patients, especially hysterical patients, are extremely

susceptible even to mild forms of suggestion may possibly have something to do with this ; and it is possible, too, that all three methods of treatment are not equally efficacious. It is even possible that the kind of treatment which any particular patient prefers may be determined for him by the nature of the disorder from which he suffers, so that in the long run a selective distribution of patients occurs, to the advantage of all three methods. To pass judgment on such matters is an extremely odious task, and it requires, if it is to be just and impartial, a profounder knowledge of the disorders themselves than is contained in any one theory. The best we can do is to acquaint ourselves with the outstanding contributions of all three, and to leave the final judgment to the future.

Of course we were only able to touch on a part of Freud's work, and we tried to find what is of most general interest and importance. It is not surprising, then, that we left many problems unconsidered. Among them is one which grows more important when we come to consider the characteristic theories of Jung, and see how they differ from those of Freud.

Freud traces the mental disorders back to shocks received in early childhood. In his treatment he aims at discovering the nature of these shocks, in order to set free the energy which has become tied up in them. But while these shocks appear to Freud to be the most important causes of mental disorders, they cannot be the only causes. Otherwise we should expect every mental disorder to start in early childhood. Mental disorders are in fact commoner among children than is usually supposed ; but a great many people who suffer from such disorders only begin to show symptoms much later in life, sometimes during the period of developing manhood, between the ages of twelve and twenty-one, and sometimes later still.

GOING BACK ALONG THE PATH OF CHILDHOOD

IF the causes of mental disorder lie in early childhood, why do the effects appear only late in life ? This problem seems, perhaps, a little more difficult than it is. It does not mean that the shock theory is entirely wrong. But there must be other contributing causes, and these causes, though they serve to bring on the symptoms of disorder, may have only slight importance in themselves. If a boy has formed a neurotic attachment to his mother at the age of three, when would we expect him to show the first symptoms of mental disorder ? Not until it is time for him to leave the family and start on a career of his own. The shock which has prevented the child's desires from developing normally will not necessarily begin to show its effects at once—it will only affect his conduct when demands are made on him, as a man, which he should be, but is not able to fulfil.

Taking everything into consideration, then, there are three factors which help to bring on a neurosis : (i) the disposition that the child inherits from his parents, and the surroundings in which he lives ; (ii) the sudden shock, which we have described ; and (iii) the situation which brings the disorder to a head. Jung differs from Freud in the

importance which he attaches to these different factors. To Freud, the second factor is what is all-important; but Jung finds as much importance in the third factor as in the second.

Freud considers that the desire for pleasure, the libido, is essentially sexual. Even in his first activities of sucking, the pleasures of the child arise from voluptuous sensations just like those which he will derive, later in life, from mature sexual relations. As the child grows older the ways in which he is able to express and satisfy his desires become wider, they undergo a moral transformation, they lose their primitive sensuality: but still the normal satisfactions of his sexual needs may be the deepest pleasures of his life.

For Jung, on the contrary, the libido is a pure life-force. It is something akin to the Will in Schopenhauer's philosophy, that force which not only makes man live and reproduce, but makes the trees grow, the wind blow, the earth move round the sun—that force which is the reality behind our world of appearances. The libido may find a sexual expression at times, but it is not sexual in itself. The primitive desires of the child are not sexual. It is only as he approaches adolescence, as his body develops its sexual potentialities, that his desires also become tinged with sexuality.

How is it, then, that the early disturbances, which neurotic patients recall, nearly always centre around sexual matters? Why do they confess to having felt incestuous desires for their parents? Why are the repressed forces, which struggle to be released, always of a highly sexual kind?

Jung's answer is that these unfortunate experiences were not originally sexual; their sexual tone is one that they have acquired in the recollection of the patient. Part of the life-force of the individual remains caught and held in these events; but the greater part moves on, to encounter fresh problems. It is when some problem is encountered in the present, some obstacle is met too great to overcome, that neurosis develops. The whole of the life-force becomes held up by the present obstacle, and in order to overcome it must have fresh strength. Then it turns back into the past (*regression*) to gather up the strength which has remained imprisoned by past crises. The past crises acquire a new significance. The full energy of the adult, with its sexual tone, joins with the energy of the child; and the childhood problems, infused with the energy of the adult, appear grotesquely sexualised.

WHERE JUNG DIFFERS FROM FREUD

JUNG, then, considers that disturbances in childhood are not very important in themselves. They gain their importance when the energy of the adult becomes attached to them. Because of this, Jung's method of treatment comes to be different from Freud's. If, as in Freud's method, the entire effort is directed towards wiping out the effects of the past disturbance, the energy will be released from it, and it may move onward again and prove strong enough to overcome the obstacles of the present. But even with the new energy which has been released from the past, there may still be not enough strength to

face the tasks of the present. Then we will find that, instead of moving on again, the energy moves further back ; a new crisis is disclosed, belonging to a still remoter past ; and the whole energy of the individual becomes fixed upon this in turn. So we may treat a patient for one disorder, and end by bringing on another.

When a man catches a cold, we may take his temperature, and find that it has gone up. We treat the temperature as a symptom of the cold. But what causes the temperature ? Not the cold, but a fever, which is the body's reaction against the cold. In the same way, difficulties in the present bring on a disorder of the mind ; and, as symptoms of the disorder, we find repetitions of troubles belonging to the past. We do not try to cure a cold by driving out the fever, which is part of the cure. Nor should we treat the disorder of the neurotic by obliterating the symptoms which have their causes in the past. The patient must be able to overcome his present difficulties if he is to free himself of his disorder ; and the aim of treatment must be to bring this about.

MYTHS THAT ARE CLUES TO MEMORIES AND DREAMS

IN a previous section we discussed the symbol *three* when we were considering Freud's interpretation of a dream. There are many such symbols. For instance, a *house* is a regularly recurrent symbol for the body ; *water* for birth ; a *journey* for death. As evidence for these symbols, we find such popular expressions as "bats in the belfry," or "weak in the upper storey," used to describe slight mental peculiarities—both expressions imply a comparison of the body to a building. "The last journey" is a polite expression for death, and we speak delicately of the dead as the "departed." We find holy water used at christenings and baptisms, the two ceremonies which celebrate respectively being born of the flesh and being born of the spirit. "Crossing the Jordan" is a condensed symbol for death and re-birth. And we could find many other symbols commonly recurring.

We saw that such symbols cannot be explained by memories of the dreamer himself. They must be traced through popular idioms, through myths, and through religious ceremonials. They are ideas which do not belong to the individual but to the race. How do these ideas come into the mind of the individual ? Jung believes that they belong to the racial unconscious, which each individual inherits, just as he inherits a certain structure of body and of brain. He is predisposed to think in a particular way.

There are thus, in every man, ideas which belong not to himself alone, but to all humanity. They are not his ordinary daily thoughts ; he may go through the whole of his life without becoming aware of them. But they exist, an inner world which he can explore, and out of which he can bring to light ideas which have value for the whole world. Thus the great physicist, Robert Mayer, who gave to the world the theory of the conservation of energy, derived his original idea not by the observation and comparison of many facts, but through a discovery which seemed to take place in his own mind. He writes : "I kept to physics, clinging

to the subject with such ardour that although it may seem ridiculous to say so, I cared very little about the world we were in. . . . A few flashes of thought that thrilled through me were immediately, diligently pursued, leading again in their turn to new subjects. Those times are passed, but subsequent quiet examination of what then emerged has taught me that it was a truth which cannot only be subjectively felt, but also proved objectively."

It is this theory of the *racial unconscious* which has led Freudians to denounce Jung roundly as a mystic. It may be difficult to explain the origins of dream symbols ; but to trace their origin to a "racial unconscious" is to explain something obscure by something still more obscure—if you accept the racial unconscious, then certainly the symbols are explained, but you are left with the racial unconscious itself to explain.

THE DREAMER AND THE MAN OF ACTION

ANOTHER theory suggested by Jung has met with more general acceptance. It is his scheme for dividing people up into various psychological types. First of all, Jung divides mankind into two broad types—the introvert and the extravert. In the introvert the libido or life energy directs itself inwards, towards the inner world ; in the extravert, outwards—this is the simple meaning of the terms. The true extravert adapts himself quickly and unhesitatingly to his surroundings, everything unknown seems to him alluring. The introvert is shy, hesitating, cautious in his approach to the unknown. He is more interested in names and meanings than in things. "There are not a few," Jung writes, "who in all their actions have but one consideration in mind ; namely, what do others think of them ? There are those who can realise happiness only when it excites the envy of others ; there are also individuals who wish for troubles, and even create them for themselves, in order to enjoy the sympathy of their fellow-men"—these are pronounced extraverts. The introvert follows out his own intentions, caring nothing for the opinion of others ; he seeks values where others would not think of finding them ; he forms his opinion of himself in sharp contrast with that which others have of him.

THE FOUR GATES TO THE TEMPLE OF LIFE

BETWEEN the complete introvert and the complete extravert lie the broad masses of more normal men. They combine within themselves something of both types. "Conformity is one side of a man, uniqueness the other." The ordinary man may vary in his attitude, appearing introverted on one occasion, extraverted on another.

Within each of these two broad types, further type-differences may be found. Some men find the richest values of life in their sensations ; in the air they breathe, the sounds they hear—or even in the food they eat. Others find life's meaning in emotional experiences. A third group approach every experience with an elaborate machinery of thought ; they know no rest until they have grasped it firmly with their understanding. And a fourth enrich their lives with their intuitions—they

see "something more" in every primrose. Each type has come to place his reliance on one main line of mental activity—sensation, feeling, thought, or intuition.

These four types cut across the introvert and extravert groups. Thus we might find someone who is a feeling-extravert, who is transported by every sunset; or a feeling-introvert, who is passionately devoted to an ideal. And similarly with the other types.

There is much to be said for such a scheme of classification, and the broad division into introvert and extravert types has already been widely adopted, and has proved useful in many different spheres. The narrower division into sensation, feeling, thought, and intuition types has yet to find general favour; although it is easy, when one thinks over one's different acquaintances, to find people who correspond well enough with one or another of these types.

LIFE AS A LONG STRUGGLE FOR POWER: ADLER

IT is well known that damage or weakness in one organ of the body may lead to over-development of another. Sometimes this happens between two similar organs, as when the loss of one kidney is followed by an enlargement of the other; but a quite different organ may compensate, by its strength, for the weakness of another. When the lungs are feeble, and breathing becomes difficult, this puts a greater strain on the heart, and the heart becomes larger and stronger in order to meet the difficulty in breathing.

Adler's theories extend this principle of compensation so as to explain the peculiarities of different people's characters. Every man's essential, most primitive desire is to gain mastery over his fellows. He has to struggle against any bodily weakness he may have—as Kaiser Wilhelm III. had to overcome the weakness of his crippled arm—he has to struggle against the difficulties of his environment, against social disadvantages, against the failures in his own past. This struggle for mastery is common to all of us. The only way in which we differ from one another is in the uses we make of our own advantages and disadvantages, in the methods we adopt for putting ourselves on top. These methods are what form the character of the individual; they go to make up his life-style.

Very early in life the child finds his own characteristic way of going about things, of getting hold of what he wants, of getting round his difficulties, and by the time he is five or six years old everything he does, whether large or small, is worked out according to the same general pattern, his life-style, and bears the full imprint of his character.

The weakness of one bodily organ can be off-set, not only by strengthening other bodily organs, but also by transforming the character, by an effort of will which converts weakness itself into strength. Beethoven, who was slightly deaf from childhood, and became deafer and deafer as he grew older, reacted against his deafness by musical composition. Demosthenes triumphed over a stammer, and trained himself to become one of the greatest orators of history. El Greco, the painter, suffered from an astigmatism in the eye. . . .

In the triumph over the weakness of his body, the individual not

only regains a position of equality with his fellows, the strength of his effort carries him forward into a position of superiority. Adler even regards the whole evolution of man as a struggle against bodily weakness. For man's body is a weakly thing, it has not the tusks of the elephant, nor the claws of the tiger, nor even the tail of the monkey. His only advantage is in his brain. This he has carried to an astonishing degree of development, which has enabled him to triumph over the rest of nature, and enslave it to his uses.

THE CASE OF THE HATED CHILD

BUT only in exceptional cases is a bodily weakness the chief obstacle which a man encounters in his pursuit of mastery. One man may compensate for the weakness of his intellect by cultivating strength of character—we often find that the stupidest people are the most stubborn. The younger child of a family may find himself in a position of inferiority to his elder brother ; if his brother is good at sports, he will put them aside, and cultivate appreciation of the arts. Or a woman may find herself in a position of inferiority in an age when men command all the positions of importance, and yet she will gain power over all of them through skilful management of intrigues.

But compensation is not always successful. *Everyone's goal is superiority, but in the case of those who lose their courage and self-confidence, it is diverted from the useful to the useless side of life*, Adler writes in one of his books ; and elsewhere he says :

"The spoiled child, being in a position where it receives too much from others, never proves its own powers to itself. Its goal, formed in accordance with experience, is to be the centre of the family, the focus of attention and care. The usual symptoms are : anger, discontent, disorderliness, anxiety, a struggle to avoid isolation. . . .

"The hated child is in a worse position of never having been spoiled by anyone. Its goal is to escape and to get at a safe distance from others. Cruelty, slyness, and cowardice are some of the symptoms. Such a child is often unable to look one straight in the eyes, cannot speak, and hides its feelings in fear of abasement."¹

Whereas the normal child succeeds in triumphing over his weakness, the neurotic child finds strength in his weaknesses themselves. He cultivates them ; he becomes ill. Instead of grappling with reality he flies from it, he finds an escape in his illness. He forms neurotic symptoms. He suffers from overwhelming anxieties, and achieves imaginary triumphs when he overcomes them. Instead of becoming socially useful, he finds his power through becoming a burden upon society. He uses his illnesses, his disturbances, as instruments for subjecting others to his will.

¹ All the quotations in this subsection are from Adler's writings.



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THE ANXIOUS CHILD

Emotionally starved children, who are neglected by their parents, may develop unreasonable fears, which lead to lack of confidence, over-sensitiveness and inability to face life.

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PUBLIC BENEFACTOR AND PUBLIC ENEMY

ADLER does not attach any great importance to the way in which different mental disorders have been divided up by medical science. The difference between hysteria and obsession is unimportant; what is important is the difference between one man and another. The symptoms of the neurotic help to reveal one life-style, just as the actions of the normal man reveal another. The normal, social man pursues his goal of superiority through his daily activities, through the way he talks, the way he dresses, the work he does; he shows it in the things he laughs at and in the things that aggravate him. The criminal pursues his goal of superiority by waging war on society, by defying and eluding the police, by gaining notoriety, by terrorising a neighbourhood. The neurotic pursues his goal by making doctors, relations, friends, and servants dance attendance upon him, by asserting his authority in trivial matters, by his precocious, unreasonable behaviour, by preying on the peace of mind of others. He exaggerates his troubles, he creates fictitious difficulties for himself, in order that his triumph over them may appear more melodramatic. The lunatic, shut up in his cell, compensates himself for his failure in life by imagining himself to be a great world figure, a saint, Mahomet, Napoleon, or Hitler.

In everyone, no matter how stupid or irrational his conduct may appear to others, there is a steady, unremitting pursuit of a single consistent plan of life. The whole of his conduct is organised around this central plan, and once we can discover it, we can find the logic in every one of his actions, we can see how they belong together. Everything falls into its place.

THE SOCIAL TRUST OF MOTHERHOOD

ADJUSTMENT to life, if it is to be successful, must reach success in each of life's three main problems—society, work, and love. Unless it is tempered with a finely-developed social feeling, "the goal of personal superiority is such that it invariably magnifies one of the three questions of life out of all proportion. We find that a person's ideal of success becomes unnaturally limited to social notoriety, to business success, or to sexual conquest. Each disturbs the harmony of life by leaving many necessary demands unsatisfied, and then tries to compensate by still more frantic strivings in this narrowed sphere of action."

It is lack of social feeling that marks the difference between success and failure in the formation of a life-plan. "Suppose, for instance, that a boy is terrified by illness and death in his environment. He may allay his fears by the determination to be a doctor, and to fight against death. This is obviously a more social idea than that of being a gravedigger, who buries the others—a reaction which I have also found in a boy of that situation." And in a passage which may be said to summarise the essence of his teaching, Adler writes:

"That which we call social feeling in Individual Psychology is the true and inevitable compensation for all the natural weaknesses of individual human beings. . . . Social feeling is not

inborn ; it is an innate potentiality which has to be consciously developed ; the dominant purpose of education is to evoke it. . . . The most vital factor is the mother. It is in its mother that every child makes its first contact with a trustworthy fellow-being. . . . The art of motherhood is to give the child freedom and opportunity for success by its own efforts, so that it can establish its style of life and seek for its superiority in increasingly useful ways. Then gradually she must interest the child in other persons and in the wider environment of life. So far as she can discharge these two functions—of bestowing independence and of imparting a true initial understanding of the surrounding situation in the home and in the world—she will see the child develop social feeling, independence, and courage. And so far also will the child find its own goal in being a fellow-man and a friend, a good worker and a true partner in love."

SOME AUTHORITATIVE SOURCES OF PSYCHO-ANALYTICAL THEORY

THE preceding article has dealt chiefly with the three great doctors who have founded the modern schools of abnormal psychology—Freud (psycho-analysis), Adler (individual psychology), and Jung (analytical psychology). It may be pointed out that the term psycho-analysis, strictly speaking, applies only to the researches of Freud and his school. It is well not to begin the study of the subject with the works of these writers. The best way is to get hold of a good general introduction. One of the best and most up-to-date of these is Ernest Jones' *Psycho-Analysis* (Benn's Sixpenny Library). The historical aspect of the subject is treated in *A Hundred Years of Psychology* (Duckworth), by J. C. Flugel. R. S. Woodworth's *Contemporary Schools of Psychology* (Methuen) should be read before the student passes on to the main writings of the founders of the modern schools. The most suitable work of Freud with which to begin is his *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* (Allen & Unwin), which summarises a large part of his researches. Freud contributed additions to his theory in *The Ego and the Id* (L. & V. Woolf), in which he considerably expands his conception of the forces of the subconscious. Two most important books of Adler's are *Practice and Theory of Individual Psychology* (Kegan Paul), and *Understanding Human Nature* (Allen & Unwin). The most famous of Jung's works is certainly *Psychological Types* (International Library of Psychology, Philosophy, and Scientific Method). A more popularly presented book by the same author is *Modern Man in Search of a Soul* (Kegan Paul), which summarises most of Jung's theory.

PSYCHOLOGY IN PRACTICE

THE HUMAN MIND : THE CLUE TO EFFICIENCY

by R. SIMMAT, M.A., of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology,
Author of *Personal Salesmanship*, *Market Research*, *The Principles and Practice*
of *Marketing*, etc.

THE previous sections will have shown that the psychologist is not a quack ; that, though there are different schools of psychological thought, certain general principles have emerged of the greatest practical value. It will be understood now how useless it is to say that people of imagination, novelists and poets in particular, have asserted the same truths for centuries as psychologists now propound to us. Psychology, as has been shown, is a science, classifying cases, predicting like results from like causes. It can accordingly be applied to promote success in business. The articles below show in what ways this can be done. They reveal how psychological principles can form the business brain, aiding memory and concentration, how they can relieve tedium and facilitate contact with prospective customers. Not least important is the part psychology plays in advertising. It is possible nowadays to ascertain scientifically the effect that various patterns, colours, and words, when made up into advertisements, will have on the public, and to arrange them in such a way that the maximum result is obtained, with a consequent increase in profits. Not for nothing do many modern business firms employ a fully qualified psychologist on their staff.

MEN who can manage themselves, and can also manage others, are the key-men in any society and in any organisation. Organisation requires nothing beyond a certain aptitude simply to give orders in business, but to inspire and stimulate those who are employed is an art. Some leaders are born to lead, others by diligent application have succeeded in acquiring the essentials. The community cannot depend solely upon men with the rare gift of intuitive leadership. Leaders of the future must be trained ; they must also train themselves so that they can utilise the facts which the science of psychology is discovering about human nature, about the power of habits, the universality of primitive and acquired desires, and the dependence of reason upon both desire and habit. The industrial leader must learn to develop a balanced and controlled personality unruffled by conflict either in his environment or within his own structure of emotions. His personality must be constructive, ever seeking progress, knowledge, and experience as aids to assist his judgment.

Men to be managed must be understood. The differences between individuals are often very great. One man is lazy, another energetic ; one is studious, another always seeking pleasure. Yet common to all men are certain factors. Man is born into the world with certain primitive tendencies to action, known as instincts. The moulding of these into adult behaviour depends in the early stages of his existence

upon what he learns from his parents, and, later, on what he teaches himself. Few realise to what extent the habits they have acquired have made them what they are. The lower grades of factory and office workers are obviously dependent upon the habits or routine of the work they have learnt.

It is not so obvious that habits are also important to the executive, since, as a rule, little of his work is of a simple routine nature. But an executive has to be trained, he must acquire experience, and so during the period of his apprenticeship when he is working his way up the ladder he acquires habits of thought and action which, good or bad, form the background for his more mature years. During his early business career he may become tolerant or intolerant, lazy or painstaking, modest or conceited, self-controlled or impulsive, honest or dishonest, and these habits once formed are difficult to change in later years. The aspiring young executive must take stock carefully of the habits he is developing and sternly eliminate any that are not going to be of assistance during his later business career.

HABITS CREATED BY PRIMITIVE DESIRES

AN individual's activity is a complex composition of the many habits he has acquired in the expression of his original primitive needs. Whether his actions are good or bad, wise or unwise, does not in later years depend on the actual fundamental desires, but rather on the habits he has formed to satisfy them. It has been said that human nature is unchangeable. This is true to the extent that primitive desires are unchangeable, but the methods of giving expression to such desires can be changed by the development of habits. For example, the primitive desire to eat food is common to all, but in some people circumstances have developed the habit of eating frugally; in others, circumstances have developed the habit of eating wastefully. Similarly, the primitive desire to rule is present in all, but in some it finds expression in family life, other men become despots in business, still others find satisfaction in the sensation of power resulting from scientific research. To understand and manage the heterogeneous mixture of impulses and desires in all the individuals comprising an organisation, the executive must recognise and appreciate the differences between each individual. He must also recognise the power of action stimulated by example and experience.

Habits are formed like the path of a stream—by repeated action in one direction—often following a line of least resistance. Even if a habit is stopped for a short time, if the period of stoppage is not too long, it is simple to relapse into the old easy path of action. Once a habit has been formed it is difficult to break. Our line of action becomes set into a groove, so to speak. It is thus important to get our actions into the right grooves—grooves that will be a help and not a hindrance to us.

Once a habit has been developed, its practice hardly becomes conscious effort. This applies to both muscular and mental habits. If the executive's routine, his emotional attitudes, and his methods of thought

are under the control of good habits, he is free to concentrate his mind upon the more important problems of his organisation, just as the skilled worker can attend to other matters while using his hands for the routine manipulation of his machine. As a new habit is developed, and action becomes set in a groove, the mind becomes more and more free from detail. As Professor William James once said, we should waste a great deal of time if we had to stop every morning to consider and decide which shoe or sock we put on first instead of letting habit function for us.

The state of an executive's development can be judged by the extent to which he has reduced the minor details of his business life to habit. The too-conscientious executive and the one possessing insufficient confidence in his subordinates try to keep their minds on all the details of the work being carried on around them. The result is an unnecessary overburdening of their own minds and inevitable inefficiency. The true criterion of the good executive might well be not how much he does but how little—that is to say, the extent to which he has reduced details to a routine, or delegated unimportant work to others, while preserving the function of full supervision for himself, and so leaving his own mind free to deliberate on the more important problems. If an executive becomes tired or suffers nervous prostration, it is a sure sign that he is making conscious efforts in decision when the mental process should have been reduced to a habit.

Once habits begin to be formed they do not change without interference. Without guidance, no matter how much more effective any new mode of action may be, they cannot change. It is not wise to allow habits to develop in this way. It is leaving too much to chance. Habits should be regulated in the early days of their formation before they get too settled. Eliminate all unnecessary steps in the procedure of learning a habit. Select the best ways of doing things and make these into habits. They play too important a part in everyday life not to be chosen and developed with the greatest care. Once a routine has been decided upon, set about developing it into a habit boldly, without hesitation; be enthusiastic about it; strengthen yourself against any temptation to slacken, carry it out as often as possible during the early stages, permit no exceptions, make sure you are doing it right, correct the smallest mistake before it becomes more serious. In the early stages the effort may be a hard one, but it will gradually become less and less so until the whole procedure becomes a routine.

THE HABIT OF REMEMBERING THINGS

MEMORY is a form of habit. To remember is to recall some experience of the past. If an item of experience can be recalled when it is required, then it has become fixed in the memory. The experienced executive may be described as one who first has had experience of a vast number of situations and of making the decisions adequate to meet them, and, secondly, is capable of recalling the experiences and previous decisions appropriate to making a decision to meet a present situation.

The more experiences an executive has had, and the more ready his power of recalling them, the greater his value. He must know his

organisation, his men, his machinery and his materials, and his knowledge must always be there ready for application. In business, experience should not be accumulated by chance. Every man has some experiences, the value of which is not going to be great. There is a danger of extraneous experiences crowding out those which will be useful. Experiences and knowledge must be selected before being stored in the memory.

Whether a thing is remembered depends upon what are known as associations or meanings attached to the matter memorised. To strengthen these associations the material must be made interesting. It may be interesting in itself. If it is not, then one must continually think about it and relate it to one's own needs and other interests. Then it will be remembered. Thinking, and not mere repetition, is the effective way to memorise. Think meanings and relations into things, and you will remember them. Make everything you try to learn interesting to yourself. Try to recall it at intervals and put it into use at every opportunity. Don't try to remember too much or you may not remember anything clearly or usefully.

We remember only experiences to which we have attended. Attention is selective. Out of the mass of possible experiences surrounding us, our attention selects some and makes them our own—of these some are remembered and some are not. If a new technique of window-dressing is of interest to us we stop to study it. If not, we pass on and forget about it. If we see a new type of office machine that might be of use to us, we pause to examine it, and so on. We can give an experience our attention either voluntarily or involuntarily, consciously or unconsciously. Experiences from without crowd in upon us. What is it that causes us to attend to some and ignore others? How can we train ourselves to attend to those which are the more important to us?

If something we want to attend to does not hold our attention, our mind wanders away to something else after a very short time. When we realise this we can make an effort to force our attention back again. Such efforts are tiring and often unprofitable. Change is one of the most important factors in holding our attention—so long as there is something new in an experience it is always easy to attend to it. Another important factor in determining the direction of attention is interest. It is easier to attend to things that interest us than to attend to those that do not.

THE GIFT OF MAKING ROUTINE INTERESTING

MUCH executive work involves attending to matters that are neither novel nor in themselves of interest. However, this does not necessarily mean that the executive's attention should be strained. As with memory, attention can be trained by thought. If the executive thinks of the implications of matters which on the surface appear dull and uninteresting, he can make them of absorbing interest. For example, the checking of routine reports may, in itself, be very dull and boring; but if they are checked with a full consciousness of their meanings in relation to the whole organisation then they can become intensely interesting. Thought will create meaning out of routine material, especially

if the thought is both critical and constructive. There is nothing so lifeless that it cannot be enlivened and made interesting. In what other ways can it be done? What is wrong with the present method of doing it? How can it be done better? What would be the effect of any changes on the various people involved? By asking himself these questions, the executive can create interest for himself; it will be less of an effort to attend, and also the work will be much more valuable. He can train himself to make things interesting.

In the modern business the division of attention by executive organisation is a most important factor in achieving efficiency. Each executive has certain functions to which his attention must be given, and he is not expected to give it to any other. The executive must understand which items are of significance to him, but he must not only pay attention to the right things, he must comprehend their importance. To do this he must have knowledge and experience. It is his experience which enables him, when attending to one item, to know which next to attend to. He must both add to his present experience and compare it with other experiences before finally filing it away in the pigeon-holes of his memory for future recall.

PERSONALITY: THE FUNDAMENTAL STIMULUS

THE term personality is one that has always been difficult to define precisely. However, it is usually taken as meaning the sum-total of an individual's capacity for reacting to his environment. If a man has a strong personality it usually means that he is always capable of producing the right reaction to any set of circumstances. If he has a weak personality he is incapable of adjusting himself appropriately to the external reality with which he is surrounded.

The human individual is not a completely organised and integrated being with a single will to act. The more he approaches this state of integration the more effective his personality. Everyone is a mass of tendencies to act—many of them conflicting with each other. There are simple reactions to pleasure and pain into which consciousness rarely enters. There are instinctive needs and desires, many of them modified by environment and habit, and there are habits acquired during the years of mental development. Habits may become so strong that they approximate to instinctive impulses, as, for example, a craving for alcohol, the desire for coffee and a cigar after dinner, the tendency to go to the office by a certain route, and so on.

There is in the mind of the individual a continual conflict between this great mass of tendencies to reaction and a controlling element dependent upon what the critical "ego" of the individual considers he "ought" to do. If the conflict between individual desires or between desires and the "ego" is so great that a single course of action is not possible, a psycho-pathological condition develops. The individual becomes mentally deranged. Even under normal conditions if the conflict between two desires is a lengthy one, mental fatigue is induced. The efficient personality is one in which the various desires, habits, and tendencies to action based on experience have been blended and

synthesised into one harmoniously integrated behaviour pattern, so that the possibility of conflict is reduced to a minimum.

In business life the executive is always being called upon to make decisions. These are based on his experience. If his experience is inadequate, either his decision will be a bad one or the mental strain involved in obtaining the knowledge at short notice will be very great. If his experience and knowledge have not been harmoniously synthesised, then conflict will ensue between the various items of experience. Possibly his background of experience may be such that any decision to act based on it may be considered by the executive's critical "ego" to be incompatible with his environment. There will then be a conflict between the "ego" and the instincts, desires, or the habits created by experience. Self-control will be necessary. Psychologists have realised that self-control by sheer force of will exacts a very great toll on the mental structure of the individual. Repression of impulses is dangerous, and results in mental degeneration.

HOW TRAINING DEVELOPS OUR JUDGMENT

To understand and develop control of ourselves we must realise that we do not always do what we consciously intend to do. We may consciously determine to adopt a firm attitude towards a subordinate, but, if the habit of treating him as a familiar equal has been developed, this will be difficult to change. We are largely controlled by habit. Action usually results less from consideration of all circumstances and experience than from these considerations failing to maintain a control of our actions.

The most important contribution our experience and knowledge make to our mental structure is the development of the habit of being able to judge conduct—our own and that of others. What we think is right and what we think is wrong is mainly a matter of habit based on experience and knowledge. If we are taught that to be dishonest is right, then our habits and conduct will tend in that direction. But because we are punished for dishonesty our habits have been developed to avoid it. Thus through punishment we acquire our early sense of what is right and wrong.

In adult life our sense of right and wrong is also determined by what other people think or are likely to think of our actions, coupled with the degree to which we are influenced or can afford to be influenced by the opinions of others. Throughout our life we develop standards and habits of censoring behaviour, and these are the standards and the mechanism by which we control our own actions. In industrial life these habits are functioning almost continuously. Society, etiquette, and business relations impose further countless restrictions upon the executive. Almost all direct paths for satisfying his desires are forbidden in one way or another.

The forces restricting the satisfaction of desires are thus partly external, emanating from one's fellows and from social and economic laws, and partly internal according to one's own conception of what is the right and correct thing to do. The expert in business, the seasoned politician, the polished diplomat, becomes adept at playing other personalities the

one against the other, so that the external factors do not hinder the fulfilment of his desires. If he is a real leader of men he will even play various personalities against each other so that they actually and as a group accept his rulings and assist him in the fulfilment of his desires.

THWARTED DESIRES THAT FIND VENT IN BAD HUMOUR

IN abnormal circumstances, such as extreme mental or muscular fatigue, bad bodily health, or when normal desires are controlled and repressed too severely, small matters that in ordinary circumstances would not be noticed cause disproportionate excitation. Thus many executives have their periods of acute "bad humour" when they are almost entirely unapproachable. In such circumstances, stimulations of any desire are cumulative, and each additional stimulus adds to the stored-up repressed impulses to action. Any small stimulus may cause the stored-up nervous energy to find expression in actions of unanticipated violence.

Such emotional "explosions" are bad, both for the individual and for his business, but afterwards he feels much better and can think more normally. Time is a great power in relieving the situation. Different work, sleep, and recreation are a great help. There is much to be said for the old principle of counting ten before acting hastily. Time affords an opportunity for feelings and thoughts to arrange themselves in their correct perspective. Rest and recreation do more. They enable the mind to be refreshed, and the mental energy repressed in business hours to find another more healthy outlet. Every executive should have his hobby, his recreation, and other interests apart from his business work. In this way his mind is kept fresh, and nervous energy often repressed in the office finds another outlet. He preserves his balance and often his sanity.

On the other hand, individual development takes place largely as the result of conflict within the personality structure—provided a satisfactory solution of the conflict is found. It is a weak personality that shrinks from conflict. The strong man glories in it and, advancing from conflict to conflict, finds still greater strength. The strong personality does not fear to face realities, and in doing so becomes further developed and integrated. The great scientist glimpsing a new truth is stimulated with a desire to follow his facts to the bitter end, and his whole personality becomes integrated to achieve his great work.

WHY EXECUTIVES HAVE NERVOUS BREAKDOWNS

THE highly-placed executive is confronted with apparently insuperable difficulties—opposition from colleagues, criticism from outside. His desire to overcome these obstacles is aroused in the fullest degree. His whole being is concentrated on the task. Events stimulate him still further. But throughout it all, provided he is sublimely confident in his experience and knowledge, the whole influence of his desire to succeed will be unifying and not disruptive. Without conflict, personality

degenerates ; and as long as an ultimate outlet is provided by success, the individual benefits from inner conflict.

If the result is failure and there is no outlet, mental disorder results. This is the explanation of many executives having nervous breakdowns ; but it is not, as is popularly supposed, the breakdown that has caused the failure—it is the failure to find the satisfactory outlet for the desire that has caused the breakdown. The nervous breakdown is the recognition within one's self of the failure. Confidence has been lost, and the retreat of the personality sounded. If the executive refuses to have his confidence in himself shaken, if he repudiates the idea of failure and continues to concentrate on success, his personality must remain integrated, and there can be no breakdown.

It is a commonplace in studying the psychology of childhood to encounter references to day-dreaming. Many of the desires of childhood cannot find fulfilment. If the child cannot obtain the toy he has set his heart on in reality, he finds his satisfaction in a dream-world. He dreams of the toy. Many adults whose personalities are not strong enough to obtain for them the fulfilment of their desires find refuge in a similar world of unreality. They refuse to recognise the painful facts of the reality that surrounds them and find their satisfaction in a system of unreality that they build up about themselves. The man occupying a humble position in the office tells his wife how important he is to the organisation. After some time he tends to convince himself of his great importance. Such instances are very common. The process is an unconscious one, and those concerned are often not even conscious of the incompatibility between the unreal world they have built up and the real world of facts. This process operates with every individual, but it is only when the inconsistency with the real world becomes too great or the individual fails to appreciate the real orientation of his dream-world that he becomes abnormal.

THE WEAK MAN WHO WILL NOT FACE FACTS

IN normal life a mental process known as rationalisation is very common. We have certain wishes and desires that escape the censorship of our habits and standards of conduct, because unconsciously we disguise them in conventional forms. This process of rationalisation is accelerated according to the strength of the illicit desire, and as our conscious control is impaired by fatigue, emotion, or external distraction. A man in a position of authority, for instance, may conceive an intense personal dislike for one of his staff. He will begin to look for faults in his work as an excuse to dismiss him. Then, when the man is finally dismissed, the executive will give as his reason the faults which in all probability never existed. The real reason, which the executive would never admit, even to himself, might have been a trifling one. The offender may have dared to wear the same kind of suit as his superior !

Rationalisation is the sign of a weak personality refusing to recognise realities and preferring to exist in a self-created unreality. The weak man rationalises before he acts to convince himself that his course of conduct is right. After the act he again rationalises to spare himself

the pain of admitting that he has done wrong. The strong personality will have none of this. He does not shirk the effort of deciding a course of action. He seeks no excuses for his actions. He does not retreat into a world of unreality. He faces facts, meets them squarely, and abides by the consequences because his desires have been analysed and criticised in the cold light of reason, and his actions based on the standard of conduct he has set up. His actions are the expression of his whole personality in its healthy adjustment to reality.

It is easy for the weak man to take the line of least resistance and begin a process of rationalisation to excuse and explain his conduct. Once the habit is formed, its development is insidious. The man seeking to develop his power of business leadership must train himself vigorously to face facts and not to shun them. Particularly is there a dangerous tendency to procrastinate and shun hard work or difficult decisions. Subordinates are quick to recognise these pretences and their respect for their employer is lost. The executive must be wary of both internal and external hypocrisy. It is easy to cloak many activities with a disguise of service or rightness. The wealthy business man, for instance, may make large donations to charity. In the course of introspection he may persuade himself that he is doing this because of his interest in his fellows. The actual reason may be that he enjoys putting people under an obligation to him, or else he may wish to prove to the world at large how generous he is, and receive praise accordingly.

We must not try to prove to ourselves that our actions are being done in a spirit of service when our real motives are entirely different. We should try to be frank with ourselves and devote our attention to whether an act is right or wrong according to our standard of conduct. It is better not to consider too deeply the manufacture of spurious motives as reasons for the act. Then our mental outlook will be healthier, and our personality more in harmony with reality. The man who faces facts in this way will be respected by others whether his acts are right or otherwise when judged by other standards. He may not be liked, he may even be hated, but the strength of his personality will be admired by all right-thinking men.

HOW TO DEVELOP A HARMONIOUS PERSONALITY

THE desires expressive of the bodily and mental structure of the individual, once expressed, are enduring. Re-education may blot them out, but an everlasting impression remains within the personality. The basis for the solution of conflict is to seek the solution that is harmonious with and best for the entire personality. Be true to yourself. The process is one of integrating into a unified whole the confusion of conflicting impulses. This is not always easy. It means that desires must not be regarded singly. They must be compared with the personality structure, and finally the solution must be transformed into action. The method of integration is that the elements of any one situation are analysed, considered in relation to the experiences of the personality structure, a solution is found, and finally this solution is given an expression in reality.

The analysis of the situation is complicated by the interjection of various desires, the real issue of which may be clouded by rationalisation. The desire for self-respect is often a potent factor influencing a decision. Individual vanity can easily dictate a wrong course of conduct. Personal feelings and relations may introduce other complications. To keep a man's mind healthy, his self-respect must be nurtured. This applies both to executives and to their relations with their subordinates. No subordinate must be allowed to feel for a prolonged period that he is of little importance in the scheme of things. The man, be he executive or worker, who feels he is in a position not worthy of his ability, cannot develop a healthy mental outlook.

The primary craving for self-assertion and the respect of others is normal and, if judiciously stimulated, is a potent factor for achieving progress. Too much self-complacency is bad—but so is too little. The individual who is completely satisfied with himself is stagnant. It is critical dissatisfaction with existing conditions that is the driving force resulting in progress. Dissatisfaction is an unhealthy mental state. But once an outlet is provided it becomes a healthy natural urge, and achievement must result.

CREATING A BALANCED PERSONALITY

THE problem of self-integration and self-development is then to provide a method of satisfying one's impulses of self-assertion and self-respect in such a way that the result will be in harmony and not in conflict with the other elements constituting the personality. In finding such a solution, self-deception must be guarded against. There must be no self-pity or self-elevation. The deeper natural desires of the individual must be subordinated and synthesised and a healthy outlet found for them. They must be organised in their correct orientation to each other, and their strength regulated in accordance with the circumstances of external reality. The control of these desires is not a simple problem of habit formation. Honest recognition of their implications will mean a great deal in achieving ultimate success.

The individual can with advantage take a normal and healthy interest in the gradual process of his self-development without incurring odium as an egoist. Once he has learnt to respect himself he will cease to be insistent in his demands for respect from others. His personality will begin to be integrated and adjusted to the demands of reality. His outlook upon life will be broadened, and he will become more tolerant and understanding towards his fellows. He will be able to view the situations in business, and in life generally, more as a whole than as a series of isolated units. His interests will become less partial, personal bias and personal desire will be subordinate to what is right and what is wrong. As an executive his subordinates will be willing to let him represent them, and will willingly defer to his point of view. His personality will not clash with theirs, but will adjust itself to them, and at the same time will be an instrument both for moulding and for stimulating their actions.

His personality must be such that subordinates will not repress their own wants and knowledge before it in an attitude of subservience.

His personality will not rule through repression and control by force, but through leadership and getting the very best out of all with whom he comes into contact to help his leadership to be wise and effective. Society both in business and elsewhere is too complex for integrations to be contrived to include all its tangles, but the effectively developed personality will be more competent and ready to cope with difficult situations. Its powers based on the trinity of experience, knowledge, and control will give it strength to find an adequate solution, and in turn that solution will be stored away in the memory structure of the individual still further to strengthen the personality integration.

FUTURE LEADERS OF INDUSTRY

NEW developments in industrial organisation, the rationalisation of production and distribution, the formation of the huge combines of to-day, have meant that new types of executive must be trained, men with the capacity to absorb facts, men with enormous breadth of outlook and the power effectively to decide the destinies of millions. It will be to these men that industry of the future will look with hope. Their knowledge will be obtained both from the universities and from the schools of practical experience, but on themselves alone will their self-realisation be dependent. The day of the individualist in industry is drawing to a close.

The old system of *laissez-faire*, based on the idea that supply and demand for commodities were adjusted automatically, has gone by the board. The era of planning has set in, and the industrial leader who considered that, by working exclusively in his own interests, he was thereby benefiting everybody else is rapidly becoming a figure of the past. It is an era of New Deals all round.

The executive of the future will find it necessary to live and direct his life not only within himself, but to integrate his personality and adjust it to act as an influence to inspire and stimulate those who are working for him to greater and more enthusiastic efforts. He must be a teacher as well as a ruler, a leader as well as a commander. He must possess the judgment to surround himself with men in whom he has confidence. He should not hesitate to delegate his work to them. He should keep his mind free from the burden of detail, and develop his personality so that conflict will give it greater strength. He must regulate his activities so that work will be balanced by leisure—so that his mental outlook will be continuously freshened to provide for any ordeal that may arise.

The young man with ambition to be such a leader in industry will have to plan his life for himself. During his childhood his parents should realise their responsibility and train him in habits of right thinking. When he reaches years of understanding his destiny is in his own hands. He must set his objective and integrate himself to its achievement. The discipline may be stern, but he must not deviate from the path he has set for himself. Then, when adequate experience and knowledge has been acquired, opportunity will present itself, and he will be capable of grasping it and making the most of it.

HOW PSYCHOLOGY ASSISTS PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT

PSYCHOLOGY, once of interest only to philosophers and professors, has now been found of vital use in everyday life, and especially in that sphere where human beings are concerned with managing other human beings—in business, in fact, and in industry. Labour functions most efficiently when it is led, not driven, and the leader in industry to-day is more successful than the despot. The basis of all leadership is a sympathetic understanding of the nature of those who are being led. It follows, therefore, that only a full knowledge of the mental make-up of the worker, and the motives influencing his actions in his daily task, can enable us to use with the best effect that most delicate and sensitive of all machines—the human individual.

It is now recognised that if capital, or management as the representative of capital, is to secure the maximum return from investment in labour—then, first, the right type of labour must be obtained for each job. There must be no more of the old system of indiscriminate hiring and then dismissal if the worker proved to be unsatisfactory. Secondly, workers once employed must be given working conditions under which they can give of their best—not badly ventilated, unhygienic sheds, nor elaborately wasteful and palatial factories, but just the kind of place most suitable for the work they are doing. Thirdly, the co-operation of the workers must be won by giving them security in their work, perhaps by means of a share in the profits of the business, by treating them with understanding, not with the sentimentality of the old welfare system.

THE PROBLEM OF THE WORKER WHO FAILED

SOME years ago an important problem confronting management was that of labour turn over. That is to say, management employed workers, and even went so far as to teach them certain phases of their trade—this more particularly in the case of young beginners: then, after time had been wasted and materials spoilt for periods of varying lengths, a comparatively high percentage of workers proved to be unsatisfactory, and either became dissatisfied and left of their own accord, or were dismissed.

The science of phrenology was the first to allocate certain specific abilities which, when present in a person's mental equipment, ensured his success in a specific vocation and, if absent, made it certain that he would prove a failure. But phrenology overstressed a correlation between the protuberances of the skull and the growth of the brain inside. Anatomists have since demonstrated that cerebral development does not necessarily correspond with the contours of the skull, and this rules out much of the value that may be attached to the phrenological technique.

Another method of judging character was the once popular one of physiognomy, which had as its support the contentions in Darwin's book, *The Expression of the Emotions*. Physiognomy based its claims on the supposition that the way individuals act and think is impressed after a time on their facial muscles and so becomes a fixed expression. This

claim may have some reasonable basis, but the chief objection to this method, from the viewpoint of the executive who wishes to select staff, is that there is no footrule by which the temperament and ability of one individual can be compared with those of another.

The Frenchman, Alfred Binet, was the psychologist who, in the early years of the twentieth century, did much towards solving the problem of putting the right man in the right job by developing a technique to measure intelligence. He established that the average child of, say, seven years could solve certain problems and do simple tasks that the average child of six was not capable of. By means of his scale of tests it was possible to test a child's native intelligence and determine its relation to the intelligence-level, the level being obtained by averaging the results of tests on large groups of children. These tests, which were not dependent on education or knowledge that the child had acquired, showed considerable differences between various children.

A WAR-TIME DISCOVERY OF AN INVALUABLE TEST

THIS system of rating the intelligence-levels of different individuals had been developed by Terman, Goddard, and others, but the real importance of the technique as applied to the problem of selecting the right worker for a job was not demonstrated on a large scale until America entered the Great War. The problem in the American army was, with such a heterogeneous population, to know how to allocate recruits to various drafts—some for training as officers, others to be instructed as non-commissioned officers, and still others to be assigned to the labour corps. The solution was provided by the work of a large group of American psychologists, and the names of Yoakum, Yerkes, Woodworth, and Wells, in particular, will always be associated with it.

The first footrule of mental ability devised by this group of psychologists was a series of tests known as the Army Alpha Tests. This consisted of tests in simple arithmetic and general knowledge, but also included tests of ability to solve abstract problems along much the same lines as the original Binet tests. There was, however, this big difference, that the Binet tests could only be given to one individual at a time and took over an hour to administer, while the Army Alpha Tests could be given to large groups of individuals in the space of about forty minutes. For those who could not read, a special series known as the Army Beta Tests was prepared. According to the score obtained in these tests, recruits to the army were allocated to be trained as officers, or drafted as ordinary privates. Cases of low intelligence were either allocated to labour corps or rejected from the army altogether.

The success of these measures in the American army vindicated the procedure as being an accurate means of estimating the suitability of an individual for a particular type of work or training. The technique in the earlier stages was not perfected, but psychologists all over the world were stimulated to make a careful analysis of the requirements for particular kinds of work, and then to provide tests which could be utilised to measure the suitability of applicants.

It is not necessary to discuss in detail the many theories that have

been advanced by psychologists in explanation and description of specific abilities in relation to the total make-up of an individual, but in the main these theories postulate the existence of two main factors operating to determine the individual's fitness for a particular type of work. First, there is the factor known as "general intelligence," which perhaps may best be defined as mental resilience, or ability to adjust oneself to one's environment. Alternatively, it may be defined as a capacity for solving abstract situations. Popularly it may be conceived as the capacity of being able to look after oneself.

The second factor is known as "specific ability." By "specific ability" is meant the capacity to do a particular type of task; for example, the potential musician must be able to discriminate between various pitches and intensities of sound; the artist to appreciate the importance of various shapes and colours; the mechanical worker must have certain manipulative abilities, and so on.

WORKERS WHO ARE TOO INTELLIGENT

RESEARCH has shown that vocations each require a certain level of general intelligence if the individual is to be efficient. These levels of intelligence differ according to the specific vocation. For example, the minimum grade of intelligence necessary for an individual to be a successful pneumatic drill operator is lower than that required to be a successful turner and fitter. It is not, of course, possible to state with precision the minimum grade of intelligence required for any and every task, but a comparative scale can be drawn up with a fair degree of accuracy.

Recent investigations have also tended to show that an individual can have too much intelligence for a particular task, and so become bored and an unsatisfactory worker. For example, if an individual possessing a high grade of intelligence is put on to work such as operating a pneumatic drill, which requires only a low grade of intelligence, then his intelligence will not have adequate scope for expression, and he will become unsettled and leave for some other job as soon as the opportunity presents itself. It is therefore important to select workers for a particular task who possess not less than a minimum, and not more than a certain maximum degree of intelligence, that experiments have established as being necessary. The same applies to tests for specific abilities.

The procedure followed in developing tests which will indicate an individual's fitness for a specific vocation may best be understood by a description of the work carried out by the writer when compiling a series of tests to be used for selecting the most suitable applicants for apprenticeship as turners and fitters. The first step was to investigate the nature of the work done by turners and fitters. This had then to be analysed into the possible abilities essential for success, such as judgment of spatial relations, steadiness of hand and manual dexterity. A series of tests was then compiled which it was considered would provide a means of measuring these abilities.

These, together with a test for general intelligence, were given to

groups of apprentices whose relative ability was known either by the foreman or through works records. The results of the tests given to these known groups were compared with their known ability, and where a test gave results showing correspondence with the known relative abilities of the group, it was assumed that this test would be useful in selecting future applicants. If the test results did not correspond or correlate with the known ability, it was eliminated from the series. When the final group of tests was arrived at, this was given to further larger groups of apprentices to determine maximum and minimum levels for each test, any score outside which would indicate the individual's unsuitability for that particular type of work.

When these standards had been arrived at for both general intelligence and specific ability, the battery of tests was ready for use in selecting applicants for apprenticeship. The progress of applicants selected in this way was subsequently followed up in staff records, and this follow-up established that, whereas under the old system of trial-and-error selection approximately 27 per cent. of those selected had been unsatisfactory, with the introduction of the system of psychological tests, the proportion of unsatisfactory appointments was reduced to below 7 per cent.

HOW PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS SHOULD BE USED

MANY large organisations in Great Britain now select their junior employees on the results of their performances in psychological tests. On the basis of years of experiment, standards for various types of work have been accurately determined. Most organisations supplement the psychological tests with other tests of educational standards. The applicant's scores in the various tests are carefully recorded, and when the question of promotion or transfer to another department arises, these are consulted and action taken accordingly.

The application of psychological tests to the selection of personnel has superficially appeared so simple and straightforward that many firms have been tempted to entrust their use to persons not specifically trained to carry out this type of work. There are many dangers in this practice, since important, though not immediately apparent, details of technique may not be observed by a person who is not trained in the methods of psychological testing. The use of psychological tests in selecting applicants should only be carried out by a trained psychologist. If the organisation is not sufficiently large to retain the services of a full-time psychologist, then the services of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology may be secured at a reasonable fee, either to develop a suitable series of selection tests, or to administer them and interpret the results.

In the earlier stages the use of psychological tests as a basis of selection was regarded with some suspicion by workers. However, with the assurance from the management that the results of such tests would be confidential to the psychologist only, this suspicion has become lessened. Their use is more general to-day in the selection of junior staff than with experienced workers, and the firms using this method have reported substantial reductions in the number of unsuitable appointments.

THE WORKER AS AN INDIVIDUAL

PSYCHOLOGISTS have also turned their attention to the effect on a worker of the conditions under which he has to do his job. It has been shown that providing better working conditions for employees is a profitable investment, because it increases their output. In particular, studies of fatigue have been made which have established that, if the worker proceeds for eight hours without a break except for a midday meal, his output is less than if rest-pauses are introduced at appropriate intervals throughout the day. The extent and duration of these pauses differ according to the type of work. Work involving greater muscular effort requires more frequent pauses.

Another problem on which industrial psychologists have thrown considerable light is that of monotony. Many workers engaged on routine work become bored, and their output is impaired as a result. Experiments have established that if an element of change or variety is introduced, then output is increased. The worker may be allowed to stand up for a period instead of sitting down all the time. He may be put on to another type of routine work after set intervals, and so on.

Light, ventilation, temperature, etc., are other aspects of working conditions to which the psychologist has given his attention. If lighting is insufficient or too glaring, the worker cannot produce the same results as if he is working under exactly the right light. If the air he breathes is bad, he cannot work at his best, and ultimately his health may be impaired. If the temperature is too hot or too cold, his output is similarly affected.

The results of fatigue, monotony, boredom, and the like are to be found not only in unsatisfactory output. They breed carelessness, and carelessness leads to accidents, which of all things are to be avoided. They may cost an organisation considerable amounts of money in compensation. In addition, they have a bad moral effect on workers.

An analogous and extremely important aspect of the work of the personnel department into which a knowledge of employee psychology enters very largely is the development of a feeling of security among the staff. If members of the staff always have an uneasy feeling that they are liable to be dismissed at any time, the anxiety engendered in this way is adversely reflected in the quantity and quality of their work. It is for this reason that piece-rates may often be an unsatisfactory method of stimulating workers. To promote additional feelings of security among workers, pension schemes, sickness benefit, and possibly the issue of shares in the business in proportion to length of service, are methods adopted by some personnel managers to eliminate any anxiety workers may have concerning the time when they are too old to be of any further use to the firm. Such schemes also have the advantage of making workers less liable to look about for other firms with whom they can work to greater personal advantage.

Many efficiency engineers have attempted to increase the output of individual workers by the setting of piece-rates, or the giving of a bonus for additional output. While in some cases such methods

have achieved the desired objective, in others they have resulted in strikes, or at least in a feeling of general dissatisfaction and insecurity. This has been because many psychological factors have been overlooked. The human individual cannot be entirely regarded as a standardised machine. All individuals cannot be treated in the same way. Differences in individual motives and desires must always be taken into account. Many efficiency engineers fail to do this, with disastrous results among the personnel.

To secure the greatest results and a harmonious working for his system, the efficiency engineer must have a deep understanding of human nature. He must be a psychologist as well as an engineer. He must be cognizant of the fact that while an increased wage may stimulate one individual, another will be more influenced by a word of encouragement at the right time. He must know what types of worker can be led, and what types must be driven. He must also know when to lead and when to drive. Charts and figure records may provide the most effective stimulus under one set of circumstances, piece-rates under different circumstances, while on another occasion a regular salary may generate the feeling of security essential to secure the best results from the individual. With some workers, strict supervision and control may be most effective, with others it may be fatal, and a word of praise or a *laissez-faire* policy may be the only way to secure co-operation.

UNDERSTANDING WHAT THE WORKER WANTS

NO single system of remuneration can be set up as being the best. The system of payment must be adapted to circumstances after taking into account all the psychological factors involved. No plan, irrespective of the care with which it is worked out, will achieve the maximum degree of output or co-operation from workers if it is not administered with an understanding of the worker's dominant motives and desires.

Three factors operate in any payment system—money, management, and human beings. The first question which has to be solved is, What constitutes a fair wage? This in turn depends on the type of work the individual is expected to produce and the facilities in the way of tools, equipment, materials that management is expected to supply. The current market price for the type of labour required is also an important factor. If only one man in a million were capable of being a bricklayer, and a thousand in every million were capable of being architects, then bricklayers would command a higher remuneration than architects.

The standards of living to which workers are accustomed must affect the psychological effect of any wages. If his wages are too low to permit the individual to live according to the standards which he regards as being his right, then he is dissatisfied, his home life is unsettled, and his work suffers as a consequence. The actual amount he receives is not so important as its relation to the standard of living to which he is accustomed. A labourer living in a tenement house and receiving £2, 10s. a week may be happy at home and satisfied with his work if his standard of living only requires the expenditure of £2, 9s. 11d.

a week. But a middle-class man cannot give of his best to his work if his wage is £6 a week and his standard of living demands an expenditure of £6, 5s. a week. It is a question of domestic solvency or insolvency, and the personnel department is wise to inquire into the worker's standard of living and to determine whether the wage offered will be adequate before finally engaging him.

The truly effective wage-payment system must do two things. First, it must enable the worker to live with a reasonable degree of comfort, and, secondly, it must provide for some extra reward to stimulate him to efforts above those covered by the standard ordinary wage. It must take account of the psychology of his desires and offer him a means of satisfying these, providing he does just a little more or a little better work than is expected in return for the average wage.

WHEN PEOPLE ARE MADE TO FEEL TOO SECURE

THE oldest and most commonly used method of wage payment is the Time Plan, in accordance with which the worker receives a fixed remuneration for an hour's, a week's, or a month's work, as the case may be. Psychologically, this system has the advantage that the worker knows how much he will receive at the end of a given period, but there actually may be the anomalous danger of too great a feeling of security, and the worker degenerates into an automaton whose only interest is to do just as much and no more or less than is required of him. This disadvantage can, of course, be overcome by effective supervision and encouragement. His interest in his work can be stimulated, for example, by the use of charts and records showing an individual's work in relation to that of his fellows.

The alternative system to that of time payment is one that involves some method of payment by results. In the case of factory workers this may be a straight out piece-rate or, in the case of sales staff, a commission system. All such systems have one possible disadvantage psychologically, namely, that the worker frequently has a lingering suspicion that if he earns too much on the piece or commission rate, then it will be reduced. Consequently he strives to maintain what he considers a fair rate, and the original purpose of the system to increase output is defeated. Management often maintains with justice that it is entitled to cut piece-rates if increased output is made possible as the result of additional expenditure on improved plant. But the workers cannot always be made to appreciate this point of view.

When piece-rates or commission are being set, provision must be made so that the amount earned by the average worker is such that it represents a fair wage and enables him to live according to the standards to which he is accustomed.

Many organisations attempt to combine the security provided by the time-payment plan with the stimulus afforded by piece-rates or commission. The resulting system is to pay a set sum, usually sufficiently large to maintain the worker in reasonable comfort, in the form of a permanent wage, then an amount of work equivalent to this wage expressed in terms of piece-rates or commission is set in the form of a quota, and

if the worker exceeds this quota then he receives a bonus in proportion to the degree to which it is exceeded. This system is of undoubted advantage so long as the worker does not regard the "bonus" as being merely "something extra" which with luck he may sometimes obtain, and provided it does stimulate within him a desire to increase his output.

Should this or any other similar bonus system of remuneration be put into operation, other factors of psychological importance are that, to act as a stimulus for additional effort, the bonus must be sufficiently substantial to seem worth while striving to achieve, and it must be paid at a sufficiently short time after it has been earned for the worker to feel that the additional effort has been really worth while. If the payment of a bonus is delayed for too long, there is a tendency for the worker to remember only the exertion required by his extra effort, and to fail to associate the pleasure of receiving the bonus with this extra exertion.

FINDING THE RIGHT MAN FOR THE JOB

IN one sense every worker presents to management an individual problem. He must be made to fit in with the entire organisation. Where he can eventually be fitted in most advantageously can be determined by psychological tests, but management—especially in the case of younger workers—must proceed to develop the potentialities shown by selection tests to exist within the worker. Even with mature and experienced workers it is not always possible to get just the right man for a position. An individual with the possibility of becoming the right man may be appointed, but he then has to be trained and moulded to fill the position exactly.

In the case of the experienced worker, he may be made to fit into the desired groove in a comparatively short time by entrusting him to the care of another skilled worker or to the instruction of a foreman or of a specially appointed trainer.

The young worker presents a different problem. The potentialities in him are not yet developed—he has yet to be taught his "trade." The time-honoured method has been to entrust him as an apprentice to the supervision of skilled craftsmen. Many large firms now go farther than the apprentice system, and have special schools within their own organisation where apprentices or trainees are taught the theory, as well as the practice, of their life's work before being turned loose in the workshops. These schools usually include in their curricula "cultural" subjects such as history, languages, etc., not related to workshop practice, but which have a value in broadening the outlook of the trainee. Such schools provide the trainee with a background for the experience which he will obtain in the workshops, and result in his being able to pick up workshop procedure and understand its implications more rapidly than would otherwise be the case.

Even after the worker has become thoroughly conversant with his particular job, the conditions of his work are frequently changing, or he may be trained for promotion when vacancies become available. He can never know too much about his job. If he can be made to

realise this he will have an added interest in it. One method of achieving this is by holding periodical lectures or conferences at which workers can meet each other and discuss mutual problems, or else where they can receive instruction on advanced stages of their work to fit them for promotion. In addition to their instructional value, these lectures and conferences have a stimulative value, especially if attended by the higher executives as well. The worker sees that executives are interested in his progress, he has an opportunity to discuss his difficulties and problems with them, and the management have an opportunity to demonstrate their understanding and appreciation of these difficulties.

WIDENING THE WORKER'S OUTLOOK : PUBLIC LIBRARIES

ANOTHER method of encouraging workers to seek further self-development is by the provision of libraries and reading-rooms for their use. These may simply be used for purposes of reference in direct relation to problems arising during working hours, or, better still, they may provide a means for the worker to broaden his interests and to occupy his leisure hours to advantage.

CAPTURING THE ATTENTION OF THE PUBLIC : ADVERTISING AND SELLING

WHEN the engineer constructs a machine he can foretell with some degree of accuracy what it will do under certain conditions and circumstances. More recent advances in psychology have enabled scientists to predict how living organisms will react to the combination of stimuli making up their environment. Studies in comparative psychology have given us a knowledge of the factors affecting animal behaviour, and this has helped us to understand human behaviour to some extent. However, human behaviour is rendered more complex by reason of the fact that while man has, as the fundamental basis of his behaviour, all the impulses and tendencies to reaction that other living beings have, yet at the same time his primitive tendencies to reaction are more easily modifiable by his experiences, and they are also controlled by that exclusive characteristic of man—"volition" or "will."

William McDougall has explained the development of "volition" probably more clearly than anyone else. He regards man as being a mass of impulses to reaction—reflexes such as the involuntary withdrawal from pain; instinctive acts aiming at preserving either the individual or his species—for example, the instinct of pugnacity—and finally a composite of individual tendencies or dispositions to reaction that are clustered about what he terms the "self-regarding" sentiment, and which constitute volitional behaviour.

Briefly, his theory is that in man primitive tendencies to reaction are modified in accordance with his idea of what he "ought" to do, but it is these primitive impulses which provide the motive-power or energy for reaction to any given set of circumstances. It is this complication that has made it difficult to predict the behaviour of any one human individual. Probably if we knew the whole background of his

experiences, his behaviour could be predicted with a reasonable degree of certainty. But in any case the backgrounds of each individual in a community differ, and thus a very difficult task would confront anyone attempting to predict human behaviour by this means.

USING THE GENTLE ART OF PERSUASION

A KNOWLEDGE of psychological principles is of great assistance in everyday life. It helps the business man, for instance, to ensure that he employs the most effective ways of persuading people to use his particular goods. It shows him how best to advertise and how to perfect a technique of selling. Let us see first how a knowledge of psychology helps in advertising.

The first factors that must be taken into account in advertising are sociological as well as psychological. For example, the mental attitude of people in various areas differs. The psychology of the Scot is different from that of the man in Wales, the Yorkshire man is different from the Londoner. Each type must be persuaded to do a certain thing in a special way. Their habits, their modes of living, their outlook upon life are all different. The business man who makes a study of their psychology and applies it to his advertising is going to be more successful than the one who does not.

Many advertising men, as the result of their experience, have developed an intuitive sense of what are the most effective ways of influencing different types of individual. Until a few years ago they relied solely on this intuition. Recently more scientific studies have been made of the habits of the persons to whom advertisements are designed to appeal. These studies have become known as market researches, and represent statistical compilations of sociological, economic, and psychological facts in relation to groups of people. They afford a scientific basis for predicting the reactions of these groups to certain types of advertising. However, knowledge of the many factors involved—especially the psychological ones—has not yet advanced to the stage where such predictions are infallible. But market researches of this kind do represent an effort to put advertising and selling on a more scientific basis than it was on some years ago.

In addition to the socio-psychological factors important in considering the groups of people whom it is desired to influence by advertising, there are other purely psychological factors in human behaviour which have been studied in experimental laboratories for many years. Traditional psychology has long been conducting researches into the phenomena of attention, memory, and the association of ideas. The laws which have been formulated are of great significance in advertising—indeed it was in their practical application to his problems that the advertising man first realised how much assistance psychology could be to him.

An analysis of the process of persuasion as the result of an advertisement shows that there are three clearly defined stages :

1. ATTRACTING THE ATTENTION.
2. DRIVING THE MESSAGE HOME.
3. ENCOURAGING THE DECISION TO ACT.

In connection with the first of these stages, psychologists have outlined certain laws as determining whether any phenomenon will attract the attention or not. They have formulated certain other laws with regard to how and why things are remembered or forgotten. The third stage is a more complicated one, but laboratory studies have been made of the mental processes involved in, first, making a decision and, secondly, in acting on the decision.

It is not difficult to understand the general meaning of the term "attention." Technically it may be defined as a mental process, as the result of which the mind perceives one or more items out of several simultaneous impressions. The first factor of importance to be noted, then, is that attention is selective, the second factor that it is limited. The number of things to which we can attend at any one moment is limited, and the mind makes a selection in accordance with certain laws from the many presented to it. The advertising man's concern is that his particular message shall be the one that will be selected as the object of attention. The attention oscillates or changes rapidly from one item of experience to another. He is thus concerned that the attention, in addition to being attracted by his advertisement, shall also be concentrated on it and held by it.

Primarily, attention is of two types—involuntary and voluntary. It is the phenomenon of involuntary attention that is of most importance in advertising—that is the controlling of the individual's attention without him being immediately aware that he is attending. Subsequently the interest of the advertisement must be so great that the interest is held by it to the exclusion of other items. Involuntary attention is secured by a variety of devices—large lettering, brilliant colours, striking illustrations, and so on. Attention is then held by exciting the curiosity of the individual or else by embodying in the advertising matter some meaning that is of particular relevance to his needs.

There are four factors governing attention, which may be stated as the laws of :

INTENSITY,
CONTRAST,
INTEREST,
NOVELTY.

In accordance with the law of intensity, the greater the intensity of the stimulus the greater the degree of attention excited. Thus a loud noise will attract the attention more readily than a whisper, a large advertisement more readily than a small one, big heavy letters more readily than small, lightly-printed ones, and so on.

The law of contrast lays down that items in great contrast with their surroundings will attract the attention more readily than those in harmony with their surroundings. The coloured advertisement surrounded by a mass of advertisements in black and white will attract more attention than if it were surrounded by a mass of other coloured advertisements, and so on.

In accordance with the law of interest, individuals will attend to items of importance which relate to their immediate interests and needs rather than to those that do not. If the individual is interested in cricket,

an advertisement relating to cricket will attract his attention rather than one relating to golf. If he has influenza he will not attend to advertisements describing cures for lumbago. If wheat prices are of importance to him, he will not attend to news about the discovery of a new species of coral in the Pacific Ocean, and so on. Lastly, it is easier to attend to something that is new or something that is continually changing than to something that is always the same—in advertising, the attention can always be attracted by novelty or change. This is why new posters and all kinds of new devices are constantly employed by advertisers.

When the attention has been attracted by an advertisement, the next step is to ensure that it should be remembered. As the amount to which we can attend at any one moment is limited, so the amount which we can remember is also limited. The more an object of experience has attracted our attention, and the longer our attention has been held, the greater will be the period of time for which we can remember it. But unless other factors operate we shall, after a time, always tend to forget the item to which we have attended. There are thus two important steps in the memory process: retention of the item attended to and recall of the item originally retained. A good or a bad memory is to some extent a matter of the native ability of the individual, but so far as the retention and recall of advertisements is concerned, they can be controlled by making use, first, of repetition—repeating the advertisements at intervals to ensure that they will not be forgotten—and, secondly, by making use of the mental process known to psychologists as the association of ideas. By the association of ideas is meant the recalling of one item of experience by reason of its association in our mind with some other item. For example, the word “pills” might recall in our mind the name Beecham, or the word “cigarette” might recall the Imperial Tobacco Company. One of the objects of advertisers is to create these associations between a type of produce and their own particular name.

MAKING AN IMPRINT ON THE MEMORY

THERE are three ways of developing an association of ideas between two items of experience, by contiguity, by similarity, and by contrast. The association can be strengthened by repetition of the items associated in these ways. According to the principle of contiguity, items of experience may be associated in this way either in time or in space. If we see the words “Players” and “cigarettes” associated in an advertisement for a sufficient number of times, either word will tend to recall the other. Similarly, if we hear the words “Boots” and “chemists” at the same time sufficiently often, either of these words will tend to recall the other.

Likewise, if two items of experience are similar, one may recall the other, though probably not to the extent of items associated by reason of their contiguity in time or space. For example, if we have experienced an enjoyable meal at a particular restaurant in one town, the sight of a similar restaurant at a later date in another town may recall the original experience.

Lastly, if two items of experience are in contrast to each other, one may tend to recall the other, though probably to a lesser degree than in the case of association either by contiguity or by similarity. For example, if one year we spent an enjoyable holiday at one seaside resort, then a depressing holiday at another resort may recall the former experience.

An advertisement may attract attention ; its details may be easily remembered, but from a practical point of view it is of no value unless it causes people to come to a decision to buy the goods advertised. When a decision to act has been made several times, it tends to develop into a habit, and the mental process becomes mechanised. It is the object of all advertisers to transform a voluntary decision into the mechanised habit of purchasing their particular goods.

Psychologists have classified voluntary decisions into five types : the reasonable type ; decisions influenced by external stimuli ; decisions influenced by spontaneous emotions ; impulsive decisions, and the logical reasoned decision. Of these five types some are of little importance to the advertising man. The fifth type particularly is of small significance to him since one of his objectives is to try to influence the consumer so that he will not consider the claims of competing articles.

The first method of decision is the most important, especially in relation to the more expensive and less frequently purchased types of product such as motor-cars, houses, etc. The process involved in this "reasonable" type of decision is that the reasons for purchasing a certain product seem gradually and almost insensibly to settle themselves in the mind, and finally as a result a clear-cut decision to act becomes formulated, without consciousness of any great mental effort being involved in the process. The importance to the advertising man of leading up to this type of decision is that the majority of people make most of their decisions in this way.

HOW WOMEN RESPOND TO ADVERTISEMENTS

THE second process of decision is related to the reasonable type, but approaches to the type of action resulting from what is known as "suggestion." To stimulate this process the advertisement must suggest action, and by so doing simplify for the potential purchaser the process of making a decision. Many people will not search newspaper-files to read advertisements describing all the brands of the product they wish to buy. They are mentally too lazy. They will purchase the one presented to them at the moment. Thus it is probably in some degree true that any kind of advertising will succeed if it appears often enough and large enough. But advertising depending on size and frequency alone is extremely wasteful.

The third type of decision is essentially dependent on suggestion, and the process of coming to a decision relies upon a sudden emotional impulse. Women decide more in this way than men do. The advertising man can do little. It is almost wholly a chance decision, whimsical and uncertain. He can do most by endeavouring to stimulate emotional spontaneity by creating an artistic or sentimental background.

In making a decision of the fourth type the individual passes from one mood to another often diametrically opposed to the initial state. The practical application of this can be seen when a person reads certain advertisements for years and may never be stimulated to action. Suddenly the advertisement material coincides with his mood and needs and creates an all-powerful impulse to purchase.

The importance of the analysis that has just been made is very great. The enormous differences in the mental structures of individuals and the complicated mass of motives combining to influence every single person would make it appear a difficult task to influence communities by any mechanised mass appeal such as advertising. Yet our analysis has shown that human action is governed by certain laws. We do not yet know all about these laws, but from what psychologists have already discovered we can to a certain extent and for practical purposes study the nature of social groups and formulate a course of action that will have results which we can to a certain degree foretell. As our knowledge becomes greater, so will our power of control become more exact.

HOW PSYCHOLOGY HELPS THE SALESMAN

ADVERTISING differs from direct selling in that the former has as its object the influencing of a large number of people, while the latter is directed at one individual. In direct selling the procedure can be adjusted to meet sales resistance varying according to circumstances. Advertising seeks to influence group decisions and must avoid appeals and methods that are effective for particular persons only. Personal salesmanship, while involving a knowledge of group characteristics, also requires as much knowledge as possible about how one individual differs from another, and also as much as possible about each prospect as an individual. The appeal of the salesman thus presents a more complicated problem. He works in immediate contact with his customer, chooses his appeal, and varies it according to immediate circumstances. Throughout the whole interview, however, he is trying to influence the customer to make a decision, and so actually the basic principles of successful salesmanship are not greatly different from those involved in successful advertising, except that their operation is more obscure. The salesman can best apply a knowledge of psychological principles by making himself familiar with the innate and acquired tendencies to reaction of human beings, how they think and feel, how they differ from each other in emotions, temperaments, and interests, how susceptible they are to suggestion, persuasion, and argument. Completely to influence human behaviour one must completely understand it.

The personality of the salesman is important in this process. In the contact between his personality and that of his prospect another set of psychological problems arises. Factors relating to appearance, conversational ability, education, age, temperament, etc., are all important as contributing to the success of persuasion, suggestion, or argument. The salesman must diagnose the psychological characteristics of his prospect as carefully as any medical specialist.

UNDERSTANDING—THE BASIS OF GOOD BUYING

WE have dealt up to now only with the psychology of selling. It may be as well in conclusion to add a few words on buying, in which understanding of oneself and of others is equally important. It is an accepted fact that to sell things effectively the seller must have a good understanding of what is in his customer's mind, what he wants, and why he wants it, and must look at his goods from the customer's point of view ; in other words, he must understand the psychological attitude of the customer to this particular transaction, because his aim is to make some sort of profit out of the customer. Similarly the retail buyer must understand the point of view of his supplier, because he is always wanting to make some sort of profit out of him, whether it be a money or a service profit. He must understand the individual with whom he is dealing, and he must appreciate what the supplier's main objects in each particular transaction are, and must be quick to perceive the right way in the circumstances of achieving what he himself wishes. He must understand the psychology of the situation and turn it to the best account he can. It is true of buying as of most things in life that a more skilful handling of the same set of circumstances will produce a better result.

Relations with suppliers must be kept smooth. It is a great mistake for a buyer to imagine that he is ever in a sufficiently strong position to deal unreasonably with his suppliers. He should always treat them with courtesy and keep on good terms with them ; apart from everything else this will ensure him early information about tendencies of trade and good service. But this is not to say that he should not derive the most advantageous bargain possible from his firm's point of view and keep his suppliers up to the mark. What that mark is will depend on the nature of the business. One type of buyer will be most concerned with style, effect, quality, or fashion significance, another with price, another with speed of delivery or general service.

Whatever he wants, the buyer must firmly see that he gets it to the extent to which he is entitled to it ; this extent depends in some degree on himself and his own personality, but in the main on his importance, not as a person, but as that particular buyer in the eyes of the seller, and in the eagerness of the seller to do this particular transaction and to do it with the particular buyer. The buyer must be clever at recognising the strength of the various factors in the situation, one of which will always be the terms on which similar goods are offered by competitors and must make his offer accordingly. A great deal depends on the trust and confidence which buyer and seller feel in each other, and the methods by which the buyer seeks to achieve the terms required must vary accordingly.

The whole of our business life represents a process of contact between personalities. If we are buying, other personalities are attempting to influence our decision. If we are selling, our own personality is attempting to influence others. In buying we must know ourselves ; we must also have a knowledge of the motives and impulses of others.

HOW GOOD SALESMEN ARE MADE

by *BERNARD M. CONTBEARE, F.R.Econ.S.*

THE salesman should try to avoid developing a "shop-front" mind which has all the apparently attractive qualities on display, and nothing in reserve for the rush periods, when there is a run on his mind. Deep reserves are required—reserves which will keep him cheerful and courteous at all times and in the most trying circumstances. All customers like to see a cheerful salesman, and one often hears them remark that they look forward to seeing some particular salesman who has a reputation for cheerfulness. The salesman should be careful how he deals with the customer who is always full of woe ; by quiet cheerfulness he can very often get him to change his opinion.

Courtesy requires habitual exercise : it is useless for a salesman to expect that he can pick and choose, and that he need not always show courtesy towards his colleagues and subordinates and yet always be able to show it to his customer. If he has not habitually practised showing it to all, the time will come when the varnish will crack and he will find that he is not able to show it to some particularly trying customer and there will be trouble. Courtesy, like charity, should begin at home, in the firm itself, and between its members.

Self-control, it goes without saying, is most important, but it is doubtful whether it can be described as a quality. The salesman should realise that the term self-control rather implies that, before the control has become fully operative, there has been some degree of conflict even though it may happily have been of very short duration. A mind in which such an internal conflict is taking place is hardly likely to be in its best form for concentration and good salesmanship. He should aim not so much at establishing self-control for the ordinary things of life as at cultivating an even-tempered mind, which will call for the exercise of self-control only in the most exceptional circumstances.

One sometimes hears a salesman say that such and such a thing or person gets "on his nerves." This is very often because he is thinking all the time that the situation or person is annoying and that he must exercise self-control in order not to show his annoyance. The more he tries to exercise self-control the greater he assumes the annoyance to be, and so the vicious circle goes on. Sometimes all irritation goes at once if the salesman simply says to himself that it is all in the day's work, that it is entirely normal, and that he is bound from the nature of his work to take the rough—sometimes the very rough—with the same good temper as he takes the smooth. An even-tempered mind does not mean a lazy mind. Some people who are mentally lazy prefer not to think about anything worrying or sad, or which involves any responsibility which may shake them out of their self-centred ways or penetrate their insulation from the shocks of everyday life. But the equable mind should feel deeply and yet not lose a sense of proportion or place feeling above what is fair to firm, colleagues, and self.

The salesman should be truthful, even though the immediate result of this may seem, at times, disappointing to him. It is gravely doubtful whether the use of exaggeration is advisable at any time. Without entering into a discussion on the ethics of the question, it may be said that exaggeration is harmful to the character since its user may lose his sense of proportion and become unfitted for any higher sales position where a sales campaign may have to be planned in a strictly accurate and truthful manner. Indeed, those who use exaggeration frequently end by being dishonest with themselves and develop what is more or less a "split" personality—they enter into a competition with themselves and each time they tell a story they add something to increase its interest.

The sole result of exaggeration is a negative one—its use is always an indication that there is something wrong which ought to be put right. The salesman may think that the product which he is selling is inferior and that it requires over-praising in order to sell it, or he may be conscious of inferiority in himself or his employers and may think that he or they require something stronger than the truth to make them appear in a good light. Exaggeration may be regarded as a desperate attempt of the mind to disguise some trouble which should be removed.

BE THERE ON TIME !

PUNCTUALITY is most important, and the salesman should show at least the same degree of care about arriving at work as he does about leaving. Very often there is an unofficial period of grace, perhaps of five minutes or perhaps more, allowed to the salesman on arriving in the morning. It does not look well if he invariably takes advantage of this and leaves with extreme punctuality in the evening. Unpunctuality is one of the worst trainings that a salesman can possibly give himself and is one of the deadly sins, showing, if others are inconvenienced as well, the most complete lack of consideration. The salesman should always remember that even if his own time is valueless—supposing that he takes this low view of it—the time of others may be of considerable value.

Perseverance is one of the first essentials, especially in the case of an outside salesman. The writer knew of one case where a travelling salesman had called on the same firm for twenty years without getting an order. In the twentieth year the son of the principal of this firm asked his father to give this man an order, saying that he thought that he deserved it. The salesman got the order.

PATIENCE NOT A MICAWBER-LIKE QUALITY

TACT is likewise essential, and is really a combination of various qualities, good judgment, consideration, imagination, and patience. All these are active qualities, even patience. Some people have the idea that patience consists in waiting for something to happen and smiling bravely if it doesn't, but this is entirely wrong. Patience consists largely in holding one's hand so as to act more effectively when the

right moment arrives. There is no better training for the character if the object for which the salesman waits is a good one. The salesman of understanding mind is always patient and ready to see the other person's point of view and to help lame dogs over stiles—or even to help trying customers to select their goods. He will also forbear to press the customer more than is wise when trying to effect a sale.

TAKING THE LONG VIEW

HONESTY of purpose is really covered by saying that the salesman should be truthful. He cannot talk convincingly unless he has high selling ideals and faith in the goods which he sells, and unless he honestly believes in the importance and value of his work. He cannot hold the attention of his customer when he is talking as if he doesn't quite understand, or believe in, what he is saying.

Method and routine are essential. It is sometimes the fashion to decry both of them, but this is only because their use has not been understood and has been abused. They are not intended to do away with the necessity for thought but, on the contrary, to free the mind from worrying about things which should be done as a matter of course, so that it may be better able to observe any new facts and to make deductions from them and to do really creative work. The use of method and routine removes a good deal of mental strain since it becomes easier for the mind habitually to take definite action at the time when it is called for, rather than to leave this to the whim of the moment or the chance promptings, perhaps, of an overloaded memory. Method and routine should be the eager servants of the salesman, not his harsh taskmasters.

Another thing to learn is the importance of the correct balance of detail. There are some salesmen who have intelligence to which they undoubtedly join application—yet they do not meet with any great measure of success, certainly not a success equal to their abilities. They do give great attention to detail, but do not consider the job as a whole and allow themselves to become sidetracked, discussing some relatively unimportant point at the same length as one far more important. An artist filling in the background of a picture would not paint in such detail as if he were working on the foreground; yet there are salesmen who miss the broad sweep of the brush by trying to paint in every part of their job in equal detail, so that their work, instead of being all one piece, is a series of isolated events, even though they may be doing the same piece of work the whole time. In writing letters they will give more attention to the exact wording of the letter than to the effect which the letter is intended to produce.

The salesman may have every good quality, but he will not go far unless he also has the power of continuous application—that is to say, perseverance plus judgment. Many of the outstanding figures of the business world are not what is generally known as “brilliant”; but they have worked and observed, and their success may well be attained by others.

A customer's reception should not be in any way effusive—effusiveness puts many customers off, when they are of a reserved type, no

matter whether they are nervous or quite at ease—but at the same time the reception should be cordial. A slight bow from the supervisor or any senior salesman who happens to be near the entrance when the customer comes into the department pleases many customers who do like to feel that their entrance has not passed entirely unnoticed. Even those who had intended walking straight through the department may sometimes stop to ask a question which may lead to a sale.

Salesmen who may be having any private conversation, no matter what it is about, should break it off immediately if there is a potential customer anywhere near them. A diffident customer may be tempted to linger, to choose, and to buy, if he or she sees that the sales staff are alert, but may be put off by a casual attitude.

The salesman should endeavour roughly to classify what may be the interests of his customer, bearing in mind, age, appearance of bodily activity, style of clothing, and so on. It is true that this is a little difficult in an age when grandfathers and grandmothers take to dancing with vigour or to going on cruises. But the salesman may find that if he exercises his powers of observation, his time in making suggestions is sometimes saved, and he may secure a sale which would otherwise be missed.

He should know the position of all the stock in the department so that he can find it easily and quickly, without fumbling, and without having to keep on turning over piles of articles. He should make as little noise as possible in moving the stock about, and should aim not only at the appearance but at the actuality of quiet efficiency. He should remember that the customer receives his impressions by sight and hearing—and to a very much less degree by touch—and that the customer very often does not use both at the same time. He should be careful not to distract the customer's attention too much by talking when the stock is being examined, or by moving the stock under examination when the customer is talking to him.

He should be in a position to advise his customer as to the suitability of the product, its practicability—that is, whether it does what it is supposed to do, or what the customer would like it to do, and in the case of some products, how it does it. He must also be able to advise on the behaviour of the product in use and, what is often an important consideration, its appearance in what are to be its normal surroundings.

THE CONVERSATION THAT HELPS A SALE

HE should always make a positive suggestion, and should not say, "May I show you . . ." to the customer unless he is certain that the answer will be "Yes." This question implies a certain amount of doubt in the salesman's mind and, if he is only drawing a bow at a venture, he may miss a chance by giving the customer an easy opportunity to say "No." He should say, "I should like to show you . . ." and the customer will usually consent to be shown the article.

The salesman should take care not to be too technical as the customer may get bored and thus refuse to buy. This is not to say that the salesman should not be able to discuss technical matters in an interesting way

with those who want to know about them ; sometimes he may have a customer who is of an inquiring and scientific mind and who is interested in hearing about the origin of the raw material, the various qualities of raw material, how they are made into the finished product, and so on. But it must be remembered that there can be no discussion longer or more endless than a scientific one, and the salesman should not allow an undue amount of time to be spent in this way.

He should not over-talk to the customer. The ideal sale is one in which the salesman does not have to talk to the customer at all, and the nearer the salesman can get to this ideal the better. He will then be able to deal with a greater number of customers, and his turn over will be the bigger in consequence. After a salesman has settled down in a department, the proportion of sales that he makes to the number of customers or inquirers dealt with will remain at a fairly steady average. If he wants to increase his turn over, then he will have to increase the number of demonstrations of articles that he gives.

Sometimes, when showing an article, it is a good plan for the salesman to stop talking for a moment or two, so that he can see how things are going. He may have a customer who is not saying much, and he may not be sure what impression the article he is showing has made. If there is a brief silence, the customer will, very often, make some illuminating remark, and the salesman can then go on again if he finds that the customer is not yet ready for a sale. On the other hand, it may pay, with the good-humoured or sporting type of customer, to try to get a definite decision by asking what quantity the customer may be put down for, or, rather, suggesting some quantity to put him down for. Once the salesman has decided that the article is, in fact, suitable for the customer, he should not allow the least doubt to appear that he is taking a sale for granted.

MAKING SURE THAT THE CUSTOMER IS RIGHT

THE salesman should remember that the thoughts and actions of his customers are governed by instincts though they might deny this—even with some show of indignation, in case these instincts might be considered petty or discreditable—if it was suggested to them. Nevertheless, allowance often has to be made for such instincts. According to the saying : “the customer is always right,” the highest form of salesmanship is for the salesman to make sure that the customer really is right. If the salesman thinks that the customer is about to make what will be, in the circumstances, an entirely wrong choice, or is choosing a lower-priced article when able to pay for a higher-priced and more durable one (which would be more satisfactory in the long-run), he should try to lead the customer away from this choice.

In doing so, he should avoid the least appearance of “pushing,” and, in giving the true reasons for the customer making another choice, it is as well, with the obstinate type of customer who disagrees with any suggestions put forward, to put these reasons actually in the form of questions. The customer may then think that he or she alone has made the choice and will unconsciously co-operate instead of disagreeing the

whole time. If the salesman ever has to disagree flatly with a customer—which is usually bad business—it will very likely mean that he has made no serious effort to secure this co-operation.

Another type of customer who isn't really right, but whom the salesman should endeavour to make so, is the pessimistic type. This type is more often met with by the travelling salesman, since people who are in a pessimistic mood do not enter shops to any large extent to buy. The salesman should never agree with such a customer directly, but should try to persuade him or her that there is such value for money ready for inspection that pessimism cannot exist beside it. The salesman who agrees with a pessimistic customer is hardly likely to get an order.

It is advisable to show a higher-priced product before a lower-priced one, at any rate where the customer has given no very clear indication of a price range. No ordinary customer will be annoyed at being shown an article at a higher price than that which he or she is prepared to give and will often, on the contrary, be inwardly gratified. On the other hand, there are many customers who feel slightly hurt if the salesman shows them an article at a lower price than that which they are prepared to give, and who think that the salesman has formed a view of their position other than that to which they think they are entitled. Furthermore, it is perfectly easy to come down in price, but always much more difficult to go up and to show a rising price range. Considerable sales resistance may be encountered, and a higher-value sale may be missed. Even where the customer has given a clear indication of price range, there is no harm in putting a higher-priced article forward with the others and saying nothing about it; the customer may ask about it, and the salesman may book an order for the higher-priced product.

DISPELLING THE DOUBTS OF THE SUSPICIOUS CUSTOMER

THE type of customer who looks suspiciously at everything and everybody, including the salesman, requires handling with great care, and if the salesman thinks that some line which he has on view will not be suitable for the customer, he will be well advised to keep it in the background. Whereas the ordinary customer, if told that some particular line is not suitable for the purpose for which he requires it, is usually grateful, the suspicious type is apt to assume that there is something wrong about the whole stock, and has been heard to remark afterwards: "That salesman is a funny man; he tells one not to buy things."

When the decisive and abrupt type of customer—usually a man—is met with, and the salesman has just given a reason (which has been accepted) why the customer should choose a particular article, let him beware against giving additional reasons, though they may all be equally good. Some people, especially those who pride themselves on making up their minds very quickly, get very irritated if they are given additional reasons, as they regard this partly as a waste of their time, and also, perhaps, as an indirect reflection on the rapidity of their decision. This type usually moves, talks, and behaves abruptly. It is always worth while taking that extra bit of care with the troublesome or over-critical

customer who inspects stock at great length and seems rather annoyed about it. This type is often just as ready to sing praises as curses and, if pleased, to tell all his (or her) friends about it.

FAILURES THAT IRRITATE THE CUSTOMER

ONE of the chief causes of friction between salesman and customer is the giving of delivery dates that are not kept. If there is any doubt at all on the part of the salesman as to the delivery date which he wishes to quote being an accurate one, he should obtain confirmation from somebody who knows. If his supervisor does not know, then he can use the internal telephone. If the salesman has quoted a firm delivery date, and it is subsequently found that owing, perhaps, to unforeseen circumstances the promised delivery date cannot be kept, then the customer should receive a letter of apology at once. The goods may have been ordered for some special function or event, and the non-fulfilment of a delivery date should always be looked on as an event of serious importance, and every possible effort should be made to minimise any inconvenience caused. The supervising salesman should enter the reason given for non-delivery in his book.

Customers—especially the self-important type, or the type which is always looking out for slights, real or imaginary—may sometimes become very irritated at the incorrect spelling of names or addresses, or at the transposing of initials. A customer will sometimes go to the trouble of returning a form or invoice and pointing out that two initials have been transposed, but that he or she does not mind. It is always safest to assume that the customer *does* mind, and to get him or her to confirm the name and address after it has been written down by the salesman.

If the customer is of the chatty type, and owing to some unavoidable cause has to wait after the order has been dealt with, so that a conversation on general topics is started, certain subjects should be avoided or dealt with in an entirely non-committal manner. Religion and politics are both subjects which may stir up considerable feeling, and salesmen have given great offence to customers on occasion by thoughtless remarks.

MAKING THE BEST OF OUR ABILITIES : SOME BOOKS ON PRACTICAL PSYCHOLOGY

“THE single talent well employed” is a line in a well-known epitaph on an obscure physician of the past. It could not have been more complimentary. Many people gifted with more talents than one waste their lives because they do not know how to use any of them. The preceding articles will have shown why. Nowadays there is much less excuse for wasted lives than there used to be. Experts have gone very thoroughly into the whys and wherefores of our failures to get a firm grip on our lives. “The fault, dear Brutus, lies not in our stars but in ourselves that we are underlings,” is a sentiment subscribed to by them all. We may see why this is so by reading some of the books

that psychologists have written about the application of their science to practical affairs and to the formation of character.

A classical work, which, though out-of-date in some respects, still remains the best foundation for a serious study of the practical side of psychology is W. McDougall's *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, published by Methuen. *The Principles of Psychology*, by William James (Macmillan), is a standard work on the subject by a psychologist who, it has been said, wrote like a novelist. A more specialised approach is made by A. Macrae in his *Talents and Temperaments* (Nisbet), which describes the relation of temperament to vocational fitness. An author who discusses psychology in relation to various professions, and does it in a most interesting way, is Graham Wallas, among whose works *The Great Society* (Macmillan), *Human Nature in Politics* (Constable), and *Our Social Heritage* (Allen & Unwin) may be specially recommended.

For the business man who wishes to be up-to-date in the management of his concern a number of very useful books are published. The general title of them all might be "*Go Ahead Business.*" Books of this kind, however, become out-of-date more rapidly than any others, owing to the speedy advance that is being made in business management. So it is advisable to keep one's eyes upon the papers for notice of new publications. The best books so far published dealing with psychology, as applied to business management in general, are *Management of Tomorrow*, by L. Urwick (Nisbet)—a very authoritative work; *Psychology in Business Relations*, by A. J. Snow, published by A. W. Shaw; and an American book that is both lively and instructive, *Industrial Leadership*, by L. M. Gibreth (Yale University Press).

On the subject of that important side of modern business—advertising—books to be recommended are: *The Psychology of Advertising*, by W. D. Scott (Pitman), and A. T. Poffenberger's *Psychology in Advertising*, published by A. W. Shaw. Both these works are authoritative and would be classed as standard were there anything so stable as standards in modern business. Other useful books directly describing the relation of psychology to advertising and selling are *Psychology as a Sales Factor*, by A. J. Greenly, published by Pitman; *The New Psychology of Advertising and Selling*, by H. Link (Macmillan); and R. Simmat's *The Principles and Practice of Marketing* (Pitman). Finally, the fascinating subject of mental tests and their use in selecting employees is well dealt with by H. Link in his *Employment Psychology* (Macmillan), and by Martin-Leake and Smith in a work published by Pitman, *The Scientific Selection and Training of Workers for Industry and Commerce*.

THE ART OF WRITING AND SPEAKING

INTRODUCTION

by *GEOFFREY CRUMP, M.A.(Cantab.)*

THE proper use of language is an art. When it is used for the creation of beauty it may be a fine art, but in any event it is an art in the true sense of the word, for it requires skill. Spinning a plate on a poker may be called an art, but no one is born with the ability to spin a plate on a poker, though some learn to do it more easily than others. In the same way no one is born with the ability to speak or write; the use of language is not a spontaneous activity, but has to be learnt.

This skill in speech and writing depends (as does the skill of the athlete or the artist) on three things: natural gifts, the attentive and critical reading of the work of able writers, and assiduous practice in speech and writing. Those who are fortunate enough to possess an inborn facility in language generally find that the reading and writing that they need are prompted by their own inclinations; it is such people who make their mark in the world of letters, in whatever form they write. But to the most of us, who have no literary aspirations beyond the ability to use language for practical purposes and in a cultured manner, no natural gifts are necessary other than intelligence and industry.

WRITERS MUST BE READERS

NO one is likely to write or speak well without study as well as practice. A good writer or speaker needs two qualities: first, he must not only know his subject, but have a mind stored with all kinds of knowledge and ideas, for it is these that enrich his work and differentiate it from the commonplace; and secondly, he must have the ability to express himself correctly and effectively. Both these qualities come chiefly from reading; most of our knowledge is derived from books, and there is no better way of learning to write than to study the methods of the greatest writers.

Mere reading, however, is not enough. A vast amount of reading is done to-day, yet there are relatively few able writers. This is partly because the wrong things are read, but still more because so little reading is done in a really attentive or critical spirit. To read with the wireless turned on, or with half one's mind given to conversation, or with the mere object of "getting through" a book, is clearly a waste of labour. And no less futile is the habit of unquestioning respect for the printed word. If we allow our critical faculty to be dulled by the reputations of authors, if we accept the opinions of others instead of honestly and rationally forming our own, we must lose our intellectual independence; and with it goes any hope of writing with precision or force, for all sense of the real meaning and power of words becomes blunted.

Those who read uncritically form no style of their own, but follow feebly in the wake of the literature they happen to favour ; thus those who read magazines tend to write in the style of cinema captions, and those who read psychology tend to write incomprehensibly. Careful writing must go hand in hand with careful reading. Language can be mastered only by first taking it to bits and then putting it together again—by analysis and synthesis. We cannot appreciate the architecture of a well-constructed sentence, or paragraph, or article, or book, unless we constantly study the best examples of these structures, in addition to making continual efforts to build them ourselves.

THE OLD BOOKS AND THE NEW

ONE other word needs to be said about reading. Good writing is not confined to the famous literary figures of the past. Those who have stood the test of time have all some quality that has made them immortal, but it is not to them, principally, that we should turn for help in the practical use of language. We can of course learn better how to express ourselves in English of to-day by seeing how brilliantly Shakespeare and Dryden and the translators of the Bible expressed themselves in English of the past, and no one who desires to write well can afford to be ignorant of the great books, but for actual models of writing we should look to the best of our contemporaries. There are to-day more people writing extremely well, in all departments of life, than ever before ; what we have to do is to sharpen our judgment and pick these out from the still larger number who write extremely badly. This is no easy task, for there are many celebrated authors who write abominably and many accomplished writers whose work is hardly known.

THE BRICKS AND MORTAR OF THE WRITER

WRITING may be usefully compared with architecture. The writer's words are his materials, and they have to be chosen, sorted, shaped, and put together ; that is to say, he must have an adequate supply and understanding of words, and sufficient mastery of grammar and syntax to be able to use them in a correct and effective manner. Secondly, just as the shape and character of the building will be completely different for a church, a theatre, a factory, or a country house, so the form of the literary composition must be governed by its purpose, though the materials may be the same ; and this form must be determined before the work is begun. Thirdly, in the same way as the proportions and efficiency of a building will depend upon sound planning and construction, so the logic and balance and purpose will be made clear by ordered and progressive thought and methodical arrangement of matter. Fourthly, such ornament can be used as may be relevant and suitable. And lastly, there is what we call the style—the spirit that gives the finished work distinction and individuality.

We have not all sufficient time to amass large vocabularies, but we can at all events determine to know the exact meaning of every word that we use, and to use none but the words that best express our meaning.

This is the hall-mark of the greatest writers, not all of whom have been men with phenomenal vocabularies. A writer, like any other craftsman, should be judged by the use he makes of his materials rather than by their richness and abundance. A writer's object (in prose, at any rate) is to transfer his meaning to his reader as directly as possible, and the two unforgivable sins are therefore the use of clichés and the use of jargon.

Clichés—hackneyed, worn-out expressions—obscure thought, because the writer, instead of finding words and forming phrases to express his thought, is borrowing the phrases of others (and dead ones at that) because they resemble his thought. "Too funny for words," "terribly grateful," "O.K."—such expressions should be buried and forgotten, together with all the "unturned stones" and "unexplored avenues." It is true that slang enriches language, and forms its new blood, but it is also true that when it goes bad it poisons it. Yet would-be fine writing, or jargon, is an even more insidious enemy of the proper use of language. If to write well is to express oneself clearly and simply, it can never be desirable to use two words where one would do, or a long word instead of a short and easy one. "No" is better English than "Such is by no means the case"; and "he was conveyed to his place of residence in an intoxicated condition" is no improvement on "he was carried home drunk."

LANGUAGE AND ITS DEAD WOOD

GRAMMAR, syntax, and punctuation are dealt with in detail in another place. But there is one important point to remember about all these. English is a living language. The correct usage in Latin may be ascertained from a Latin grammar, because the language is dead and the rules are fixed for ever. The correct usage in English is that which obtains amongst the majority of educated people to-day. The countryman's speech which we call incorrect, such as his doubling of negatives, is often only incorrect in that it is four centuries or so out of date.

In the eighteenth century, when English prose was modelled closely upon the Latin idiom, it was customary to use long and complicated constructions. Doctor Johnson, for instance, writes :

"If by a noble and more adequate conception that be considered as Wit, which is at once natural and new, that which, though not obvious, is, upon its first production, acknowledged to be just ; if it be that, which he that never found it, wonders how he missed ; to wit of this kind the metaphysical poets have seldom risen."

This sentence is perfectly constructed, but no one would write like that now. Such involved and intricate writing has given way to shorter sentences and more frequent finite verbs ; the importance of the semicolon has increased, and the use of conjunctions has diminished. We write : "I am tired ; I am going to bed," where our grandfathers would have written : "I am tired, so I am going to bed," or even : "Being tired, I am going to bed." We must understand the principles of English

grammar and construction so as not to obscure our meaning, or do offence to the accepted traditions of ordered and comely English speech. But we must also remember that to be old-fashioned in language is as much of a solecism as to be old-fashioned in dress, manners, or any other department of life.

THE AUTHOR SHOULD PLAN BEFORE HE WRITES

WRITING is at least three parts thinking. Most people find the selection and arrangement of ideas far more troublesome than the actual writing. A famous dramatist, when asked how his play was progressing, replied : " It is finished. I have only to write it now." If all literary work were approached in this spirit, reading would be a much easier and pleasanter matter than it generally is. Most books, articles, and speeches are inadequately planned, or imperfectly co-ordinated, because most of us are in too much of a hurry to do more than write down the first ideas that come to us. These are the ideas that come first to everyone else too, and are therefore of little importance.

The writer, having decided on his subject and the way in which he will treat it (such as novel, essay, play, or sermon), should then *collect* all the ideas he can until a promising line of thought begins to form itself. Then it becomes a task of *selecting* the material that is relevant to his purpose, and ruthlessly rejecting the rest. To keep distinct the processes of collection and selection is of the utmost importance. It then remains to arrange the subject-matter in the proper order, remembering that not only must it be grouped into paragraphs, but the logical connection between the paragraphs must be made clear by co-ordinating phrases and sentences. Ordered and progressive movement towards a clearly visualised objective is the secret of well-constructed composition. The surest way to be interesting is to be interested, and if the writer concentrates exclusively on that aspect of his subject that engages his own interest, he is likely, given the necessary technique, to carry his readers with him.

THE FINAL TEST OF STYLE

IT is sometimes said that style is personality. But style has been better defined as the impact of personality upon the spirit of the age, for a book or a building gets some of its character from the world of its day as well as from the man who made it. And even that is not all, for the subject counts for something. It is the way in which a certain subject is treated by a certain mind at a certain time that determines what we call the style of a piece of writing. But the writer need not bother overmuch about his own share in this trio. One thing is certain, and that is that style, real distinction in writing, is not the result of efforts at self-expression. The ultimate test of style is sincerity. It is a paradox that the greatest writers, those whose personalities shine most clearly through their work, are those who have forgotten themselves in enthusiasm for their subject and determination to write with the voice of their generation.

The difference between written English and spoken English should be less than is commonly supposed, because each should resemble the other more closely than it commonly does. Most writing is too pretentious and "would-be literary," whereas most speech is too slipshod and clumsy. Speech, like writing, should be concise, easily understood, and agreeable ; but too often it is needlessly verbose, difficult to follow, and irritating. In ordinary conversation this is chiefly a matter of habit and temperament. Those who value their own opinions and like the sound of their own voices care little how they express themselves provided they can go on talking. Those who dislike harsh sounds and inexact or ugly expressions are likely to be at pains to express themselves pleasantly, but their speech may lack just that picturesqueness and vitality that makes the speech of less cultured people so attractive. No two people, in fact, speak exactly alike, and let us be thankful that they do not. The more we preserve our individual peculiarities the better, so long as they are not so far removed from the normal as to make our speech difficult to understand or ridiculous. The question remains : What is the normal ?

SETTING A STANDARD FOR PURE ENGLISH

EVEN among carefully educated people, dialect varieties in certain districts, particularly in the North, persist firmly. The cockney and various rural dialects are giving way very slowly, in some places not at all ; and in London and other great towns the "refained" speech of suburbia is spreading rapidly. Moreover, the pronunciation of many who regard themselves as most correct is startlingly inexact ; the Belgravian *How-d'yor-dor* and the so-called "Oxford" *Gudbah* are quite as inaccurate as the American *carnerference*, the Cockney *Piper, lidy*, or the Glasgow *Hae ye go' a bo'le* ?

It is worth remembering that English in its purest form is customarily referred to as "The King's English." English is a language that is spoken all over the world, and foreigners are constantly surprised that we take so little pride or interest in its correct use. This is no place to enter into the vexed question of dialects ; they have great beauty, and considerable historical and sentimental importance. But it is surely desirable that all English people should at least be able to speak an English that sounds and means the same to all, and that is identical with the language of their literature.

STYLE COMES TO THE SPEAKER'S AID

THE two chief qualities required of a public speaker are intelligibility and audibility, and neither is any use without the other. Intelligibility depends upon careful choice of words and methodical arrangement ; in fact, everything that has been said about writing applies equally to speeches and lectures, which should, if possible, always be written out in full at some stage in their composition, even if they are reduced to notes or committed to memory later. Completely extempore speaking is a very difficult achievement, and most of the speaking that

one hears is needlessly clumsy and involved. Even if only a few minutes are available for preparation, a clearly planned scheme should be outlined in the mind.

Audibility depends upon clear articulation of consonants, correct enunciation of vowels, and proper control of the breath. To a few people all these come naturally, but most of us need considerable practice, if not training. Microphones have simplified the task of addressing large audiences, but no microphone can turn a bad speaker into a good one.

THE THIRD ESSENTIAL QUALITY

THERE is a third quality which is as essential to a speaker as the two already indicated. He may be both audible and intelligible, but neither quality is of any use unless he is also interesting. By his manner, his language, the inflections of his voice, his use of emphasis, pause, variations of speed, gesture, illustration, and all the arts of the speaker, he must continue to hold the attention of his hearers. Audiences can easily be made to believe, by the manner of the speaker, that what is really dull is interesting; at any rate, it is some time before they find out. But they will never believe that anything is interesting if it sounds dull.

This point cannot be too strongly stressed, especially as it is in the interests of those who read and listen as well of those who write and talk. Any who read these sections will be doing so in the hopes of improving their powers of expression. Let us, who may have to read what they write or hear what they say, remind them that most of us have to read and hear far more than we want to, and all we ask is that their intention should be clear, their language pleasant and economical, and their manner interesting.

THE CORRECT USE OF ENGLISH

by WRIGHT WATTS MILLER, B.A.(*Lond.*), M.Ed.(*Manchester*)

ALL great educationists, from Socrates to Matthew Arnold, have stressed the importance of clear thinking. Clear thinking and the right use of language are inseparable. "Grammar," as it is too often taught, consists only of a collection of hard-and-fast rules, whereas grammar as a living instrument of right expression is inseparable from thought. A thought or feeling logically expressed must be grammatically expressed. The following article sets out to show why we should use one form rather than another; the reason, for instance, why a comma should or should not be inserted in a sentence. We learn the difference in meaning that results from altering the position of words within a sentence. There are few people who are sensitive enough to language to be able to write correctly by instinct, and the ordinary man or woman can benefit a great deal, not only in the matter of writing, but also in the processes of thinking, by learning why one form of expression is wrong and another one is correct.

THE correct use of a language is decided by custom and common sense. Sometimes custom is more powerful than common sense, as in the English spelling system. English grammar, on the other hand, is one of the greatest monuments to the accumulated common sense of sixty generations of Englishmen. It is a pity that, through bad teaching and association with Latin and Greek in the past, the word "grammar" should indicate such needless terrors to the average Englishman to-day.

THE MEANING AND IMPORTANCE OF GRAMMAR

ALANGUAGE is a method, more or less imperfect, by which men communicate with each other. It takes, so far as we can tell, at least several hundred years to make a language. The grammar of a language is the record of its ways and customs as they have grown up, and as they must be observed by those who wish to make themselves intelligible in the language. When we communicate with each other it is thoughts which we wish to communicate—not words, since these are but the invented tokens of our thoughts. Grammar, therefore, is *a means to clear thinking*. It is definitely not, as is sometimes implied, a set of rules established by arbitrary authority, and thrust upon the unwilling natural speaker or writer. Grammar changes from generation to generation, even in these days when the printed word tends to fix a language more permanently than the spoken word ever could. The only authority grammar can have (in English, at least) is the authority of the mass of clear thinkers, speakers, and writers at any given time.

The grammar of a language consists of two parts. The first deals with the forms of individual words; it records, for instance, that while *seen* is the agreed word in *We have never seen it yet*, it is not the agreed word in *I seen him yesterday*. This branch of grammar is called *Accidence*,

and has been reduced in English to a minimum. A foreigner has only a few forms to learn in English, such as that adding an *s* makes a plural, or adding an *'s* shows possession. The fearsomeness of the term "grammar" to the Englishman is due to the vast amount of accidence there is to learn in almost all languages but English; whereas in English we say *I speak, we speak, you speak, they speak*, in French there is a different form of the word "speak" for each of the four. Foolish teaching has often attempted to make English grammar coincide with foreign grammar by setting the schoolboy to learn forms when no forms are there. This ignores the excellence of English, which has, by simplifying its accidence from the very large number of forms it had in Anglo-Saxon, reduced the strain on the memory to almost nothing. When an Englishman groans about the burden of a foreign grammar, he is groaning, quite reasonably, about the strain his memory must undergo before he can begin to understand the language at all.

The second branch of grammar concerns the relations of words to each other, and their proper placing in sentences. This branch is called Syntax, and it is this which English common sense has perfected to a very high degree. The strain in writing correct English is not thrown so much on the memory as on the judgment of the writer, which he must exercise anew in each individual sentence. Most of the rules for exercising this judgment depend on very simple principles, but the application of them may be a matter of the greatest delicacy. It is partly for this reason that English has become one of the most flexible and expressive of all languages, whether ancient or modern.

The practice of English syntax may be illustrated by the solution of an everyday dilemma: should we say *the public is* or *the public are*? In some languages there might be an inviolable rule to answer that question; "public" might be always singular or always plural. Not so in English, however, which examines the word and says: "What does it imply—a large crowd of people acting as one, or a large crowd acting severally?" And so the answer to the question depends upon the sense of the sentence: we say *The public is one of the principal owners of iron mines in Sweden*, but *The public are slow in adding their names to the subscription list*. (Tangles would obviously arise from saying *The public are one*, or *The public is slow in adding its name*.)

Grammar, then, is essential to the expression of clear and exact meanings. To explain the distinctions between one kind of meaning and another a few technical terms are necessary, but only a few. The best way to learn such terms is to see them in actual use for elucidating problems—common errors and difficulties in English.

WHAT MAKES A SENTENCE?

IN studying the grammar of one's mother tongue it is more practical to begin with the sentence, the unit to which we have been accustomed since the age of four, than with the word, as is necessary in studying a foreign language. The essence of a sentence is often said to be that it must contain a complete thought. We may accept this with two qualifications. "Thought" must be understood to include emotion

as well as logical thinking ; it must include any mental process which we wish to communicate to someone else. Secondly, the completeness of the thought must be in the mind of its originator, and must be clear also to its recipient, but it need not be insisted on in actual words ; the completeness may be implicit but not expressed. Thus *Hurry !* is as complete a sentence as *I must hurry*, or *You had better hurry*, or *They are hurrying*, or *What a hurry he is in !*

A better way of defining the completeness of a sentence is to say that it must consist of two parts—something we wish to talk about, which is called the Subject, and something which is said about the subject, and is called the Predicate. Either of these parts may be absent in actual words, but it must be implicit in sense. The sentence *Hurry !*, for instance, is addressed to some person or persons forming the implied subject of the sentence, and whose presence is also suggested by the exclamation mark. *Hurry.* is not a complete sentence.

SENTENCES COMPOUND AND COMPLEX

WHEN we come to the end of our subject and predicate, we put a full stop or semicolon, or join the sentence to another sentence by a conjunction or joining word. This simple principle is all that lies behind the difficulties to be discussed later under the heading of Punctuation. A single subject and predicate closed by a full stop or semicolon forms a Simple Sentence. A series of such sentences joined by *and*, or, *but*, forms a Compound Sentence. Replace the joining words by full stops or semicolons, and the result is a series of complete simple sentences of parallel importance. Thus we may write :

Johnson snorted, Goldsmith was peevish, Garrick ranted, and Reynolds took snuff.

or

Johnson snorted and Goldsmith was peevish, but Garrick ranted and Reynolds took snuff.

These are compound sentences. If we remove the conjunctions we have a string of simple sentences, which must be separated by full stops or semicolons, thus :

Johnson snorted. Goldsmith was peevish. Garrick ranted. Reynolds took snuff.

But our sentences are rarely of this constant simplicity. We more often make a main statement and qualify it by one or more subordinate sentences. We may add one of these subordinate sentences, or clauses, to explain the subject, another to explain something in the clause explaining the subject, another to tell when the action done in the predicate took place, another to tell where it took place, and yet another to explain why the actual place was chosen. It will be a useful exercise to pick out all the above parts from the following sentence :

Sir Walter Scott, who at that time was scarcely beginning to feel the effects of the fatigue which eventually undermined his health, was to be seen

any evening during the period we have mentioned, high up in the room which he had chosen for its quietness and which was to see the composition of so many of the Waverley Novels.

This is an involved example of a Complex Sentence. *Sir Walter Scott was to be seen any evening during the period we have mentioned* is also a Complex Sentence, since (*which we have mentioned*) makes no sense by itself. The only simple sentence present is the fundamental statement—*Sir Walter Scott was to be seen any evening.*

The test of a subordinate clause in a complex sentence is that it cannot make sense unless joined to the sentence or word which it qualifies. Each subordinate clause, however, is still composed of a complete subject and predicate, expressed or implied. The fearsome exercise called, in schools, Analysis deals with the parts of complex sentences. An adult person may manage without most of the technical terms employed, so long as he can pick out the true relationships of the parts of the sentence to one another—that is, the true meaning of the sentence—and can discover the subject and predicate when necessary, in each clause or sentence. Once again the rule is easy; its application is a matter of personal skill. If one can discover the grammatical parts of the sentence *The cat scratched the dog*, one can probably discover those of a more difficult sentence. No textbook can do the work of one's own judgment in finding the parts of any sentence. Correct punctuation, as will be seen later, cannot be explained without an understanding of such processes of grammatical analysis.

THE LAWS THAT GOVERN WORDS

IT is clearly an advantage to be able to distinguish conveniently between *licence* and *license*, for example, by calling one the Noun and the other the Verb. Otherwise the distinction can be explained only by roundabout and inexact phrases, such as: "The licence is the thing you take out, and the Government licenses you when you take out the licence!" For convenience, too, nouns are classified into Common and Proper, Concrete and Abstract. The first classification may be illustrated by the difference between *the city* and *the City*; Proper Nouns always need a capital letter. The second classification may be illustrated by the difference between words such as *apple*, *hat*, *ball*, and *time*, *heat*, *space*. The former must always be used with an article, *an apple*, *the hat*, but the latter can be used alone, as in the example: *heat is tiring*. The second classification has many borderline cases such as Nouns of Multitude, like *Council*, or Material-Nouns like *iron*—not the name of any concrete piece of iron, but of the substance, anywhere, any size, undefined, with the properties which earn it the name of iron. Few common grammatical errors, however, are due to a mishandling of nouns.

Pronouns, on the other hand, cause a great deal of difficulty. A Pronoun is defined readily enough as a word which replaces a noun—I, he, she, it, they, which, who, each, anyone, etc.; there are not many pronouns, and they are easy to recognise. But because their meanings depend upon some noun which has been named or implied before, it is easy to use pronouns vaguely. Much trouble may be caused in

tracing the elusive *he* or *which* back to its Antecedent—the noun which it replaces—and examples of this will be discussed later. Further, since there are so few pronouns, they change their form to indicate grades of meaning. They are some of the few words which still have many variations of form in English. Chief among their variations are those showing Person and Case. (Nouns may also have Person and Case, but in English they no longer have differences of form to show them.)

There are three Persons. The First Person, indicated by the pronouns *I, me, we, us*, distinguishes the speaker. The Second Person—*you* (and formerly also *thou* and *ye*) distinguishes the person spoken to. All the rest of the world, all the possible subjects or people under discussion by the First and Second Person, are classed as Third Person—*he, she, it, they, them, him, her*. A writer often uses the First Person Plural to extend a spirit of friendliness by including his readers and himself under the one word *we*, as when he says *We are all familiar with*— The Second Person is also used, in speech more permissibly than in writing, with an effect of greater intimacy where a vague, unindividualised Third Person is really meant : *Now when you have got your Safeguarding of Industries Act, what do you find ?* Person, like most other usages in English grammar, has thus many variations and exceptions which are the result of experience and not of rigidly logical definition.

HOW NOUNS AND PRONOUNS SHOULD BE RELATED

THE nouns in a sentence stand in a relation to one another decided mainly by the part each is made to play by the verb. The same is true of pronouns. Thus in the sentence *The man hit the dog*, *man* is the subject of the sentence and is related to *dog* by doing something to it—by hitting it. *Dog* is the object of the sentence and is related to *man*, because something is done to him by the man. The relation of one noun or pronoun to another is shown by the case of the nouns or pronouns. In Anglo-Saxon and in languages such as German and Latin the case of a word can be recognised by its ending. Thus when man is the doer (subject) in a Latin sentence, he appears as *homo*, but when he is the one to whom something is done (object) he appears as *hominem*.

In modern English the case of a pronoun, though not of a noun, may usually be recognised by its form. Thus *I* is always the subject of a sentence, *me* is always the object, or is in the predicate ; *he* is the subject, *him* the object, or in the predicate. The case of a noun, however, can usually only be told from the position of the noun in the sentence or from the relationship word (preposition) used with it. Compare the headline sentences, *Dog Bites Man* with *Man Bites Dog* ; or *Murder Of Officer* with *Murder By Officer*, the prepositions being *of* and *by*.

There are four Cases in English. The subject of a sentence (the man or dog who does the biting) is in the Nominative Case. The object of a sentence (the man or the dog who is bitten, for instance) is in the Accusative or Objective Case. The Indirect Object of a sentence is the person or thing affected by an action, but not most directly affected ; thus in the sentence *He passed the ball to me*, or *He bought the car for his wife*,

me and *wife* are the Indirect Objects, while *ball* and *car*, which are actually subjected to the passing or buying, are in the Accusative Case. The Indirect Object of a sentence is said to be in the Dative Case, and in English is generally indicated by *to* or *for*, either expressed or implicit, e.g. *me* is still the Indirect Object in *he passed me the ball*. The fourth case is the Genitive Case, which includes the Possessive Case, as well as some other kinds of belonging which are not exactly possession, e.g. *a cup of coffee*. The Genitive Case is expressed by adding an 's or by using the preposition *of*.

The Genitive Case is the only case in English which may be shown, in nouns, by a change in the form—*the boy's hat*; *in a year's time*. English pronouns, on the other hand, show most of their changes of case by changes of form. *I, we, thou, you, he, she, they, who*, for instance, may all indicate the subject of a sentence and are all in the Nominative Case. When the persons indicated by these pronouns have something done to them and become the objects of sentences, the pronouns change to *me, us, thee, you, him, her, them, whom*, and are then in the Accusative Case. We should say, for instance, *whom did you pass on the road?*, not *who did you pass?* because *whom* is the object, just as *him* would be in the answer—*I passed him* (not *I passed he*). The Genitive Case of the above pronouns is *my, our, thy, your, his, her, their, whose*. The Dative Case is shown by adding *to* or *for* to the Accusative Case—*to me, to us, to thee, to you, to him, to her, to them, to whom*.

SOME PITFALLS IN THE EXPRESSION OF CASES

ALTHOUGH pronouns have these changes of form to show case, they are still dependent, just as much as nouns, on word-order and prepositions to show their case fully. When *Dog Bites Man* is expressed as *It bites him*, the subject still precedes the verb, and the object follows it—*Him bites it* is not permitted. Further, when prepositions are used before pronouns, the form of the Accusative Case is necessary, e.g. *by him, for me, with her, from them, about whom, after us*. And in such examples as *by it, for you, with John, from the stable*, etc., although there are no special accusative case-forms present, the pronouns or nouns are still in the accusative case. We must therefore extend our idea of the object to include not only the object of a verb but the object of a preposition. The object of a verb (which is also the object of the sentence containing the verb) is said to suffer or undergo the action indicated by the verb—*we visited John, we visited him*. The object of a preposition forms, with the preposition, a separate phrase inside the sentence—*we visited John to ask about Mary*; *we visited John to ask about her*.

Most instances of the accusative case after a preposition are familiar enough to be taken for granted. *Between you and me*, however, is often wrongly rendered *between you and I*. Yet no one would say *between—I*. "Me," of course, is the object of the preposition "between." Probably *you and me* is often avoided in this phrase because *you and me* is often incorrectly used in such instances as *you and me'll have to look out*. Here "me" should be replaced by the nominative case "I," since it is part of the subject of the sentence.

We have already said that a sentence must contain a Subject (either a noun or a pronoun) and a Predicate. The essential part of the predicate is a verb, and with these two essential words—a noun and a verb—many a sentence may be constructed—*John ran, I laughed*, etc. More often, however, the meaning expressed by the verb is not complete with the verb itself. *He bought* is no use without the object—the car or whatever else was bought. But there are other ways of completing sentences than by an object. *The bread tastes dry*—the bread is not itself “tasting” anything; *I am tired*; *he feels ill*—nothing undergoes the feeling, as in *he feels the bottom*. None of these completions, which are called Complements, are affected by the action or state expressed by the verb. Rather do they expand the meaning of the subject. Particularly is this the case with complements of the verb “to be,” so that several languages, such as Latin or Russian, often omit “am,” “is,” etc., without any confusion of meaning, and say simply *I tired, he Russian*. In these sentences obviously “tired” is the same case as “I,” or “Russian” as “he”—all four are nominative. Similarly in English with *It is he*, and all complements of any part of the verb “to be.” (*It is me*, however, is so sanctioned by usage that it would be pedantic to object to it in informal conversation.)

AN ANALYSIS OF THE VERB

THE simplest way to define a verb is to say that it is the word essential to the predicate of a sentence. A verb is also often said to be a word expressing an action or state. This is less satisfactory, and “action” must be taken to include all kinds of words such as *prevaricate, consider, analyse*, etc. There are two main classes of verbs—Transitive, which require an object to complete their meaning, and Intransitive, which do not. A verb may have both uses, e.g. *taste* in *He tastes the soup* is transitive, and in *The bread tastes dry* is intransitive. A transitive verb has two main classes of use, called the Active Voice and the Passive Voice. The active voice indicates the ordinary use of such a verb as “cut,” the passive voice indicates that the object has been turned round and made into the subject—*The loaf was cut by Jane*, instead of *Jane cut the loaf*. The advantage of having two voices is that emphasis can be differently placed, according to the subject of the sentence, on either the loaf or Jane.

All verbs, whether transitive or intransitive, can express both the difference between singular and plural, and the difference between the three persons. These differences, however, are not usually indicated by changing the form of the verb, as in most other languages, but by simply putting before the verb a pronoun or noun which itself expresses the difference of number or person: *I speak, you speak, we speak, they speak*. Only in the Singular of the Third Person—*he, she, it speaks*, do we use a different form of the verb. (An exception is the verb *to be*—*am, is, are*, etc.) Even this difference only occurs in the Present of the Verb; in the past *spoke*, for example, serves for all persons, both singular and plural.

More important variations in the verb are differences of time, called Tenses, and differences called Mood—expressions of shades of wishing,

willing, likelihood, etc. English has more of these variations than most languages, and expresses them, for the most part, by adding a few conventional words, called Auxiliaries, to the simple parts of the verb, instead of taxing the memory with a large number of different parts of the verb. The difference between Past, Present, and Future is only the beginning of the English varieties of Tense. English can express the subtle differences between *I work* and *I am working*, *he will work* and *he will be working*, *they worked* and *they have been working*, *they were working*, *they had been working*, or *they had worked*.

The variations called Moods were also originally expressed by different forms of the verb, as they still are in many languages; the solitary relic of the forms of the Subjunctive Mood in general use to-day is *if I were*, which most people still prefer to *if I was*, though they do not say *if I be*, as they would once have done, instead of *if I am*. The Imperative Mood conveys a command by using the simple form of the verb with an exclamation mark—*Go! Stop! O come, all ye faithful!* All other moods, including the subjunctive mood, are expressed nowadays by combinations of the auxiliaries used for expressing tenses—*had*, *should*, etc., or of parts of other verbs, such as *might* and *must*.

THE VERB AS ADJECTIVE AND NOUN

USEFUL parts of the verb are the Infinitive (*to hurry*, *to be able*, etc.) and the two Participles. The Present Participle ends in *-ing* and may serve as a part of the verb—*He is hurrying*; as an adjective—*Hurrying crowds were delayed*; or as a noun—*Hurrying cannot save you now*. The same forms in *-ing* make a very useful class of words called Gerunds or Verbal Nouns. Gerunds behave like nouns while doing the work of a part of a verb. In the first of the following examples “singing” is a Gerund, in the second it is a Noun: *I am pleased at his singing to-night*; *I am pleased with his singing to-night*. In the first sentence “singing” could be replaced by an ordinary form of the verb—*I am pleased that he is singing to-night*; in the second it could only be replaced by another noun—*I am pleased with his voice to-night*. The Past Participle (*spoken*, *written*, *leapt*, *drowned*, *tasted*, etc.) may also be either part of the verb, as in *He has spoken*, or an adjective, as in *the spoken word*, or sometimes a noun, as in *for the fallen*. The Infinitive is also often used as a noun—*To temporise at this moment would be fatal*.

THE DUTIES ALLOTTED TO ADVERBS AND ADJECTIVES

ADJECTIVES and Adverbs must be distinguished. An Adjective is approximately defined as a word which qualifies a noun, e.g. the first word in each of the following pairs: *good fellow*, *ridiculous boy*, *original composition*, *orderly behaviour*. An Adverb is a word which modifies or limits or adds something to the meaning of a verb, to a phrase or sentence containing a verb, to an adjective, or to another adverb. Examples of these modifications, in order, are: *He runs fast*, *He will probably run*, *exasperatingly slow*, *exasperatingly slowly*. While many adverbs end in *-ly*, not every word with this ending is an adverb. Thus we must

not say *The troops proceeded orderly*, and since *orderlily* is felt to be so clumsy that it has never been used, we can only express our adverbial idea by an Adverbial Phrase such as *in an orderly manner*. Many words, such as *fast*, *only*, may be used as either adjectives or adverbs, without change of form. Many adjectives add *-ly* to form adverbs—*originally*, *slowly*, *slyly*.

Adjectives and Adverbs are also used as comparing words : in *the faster of the two*, or *He runs faster than I*, they are said to be of the Comparative Degree. Only two things are compared together here. When one thing is compared with many, or picked out from many, the adjective or adverb used is said to be of the Superlative Degree : *the fastest of all*, *He runs hardest at the beginning*, *Brightest and best of the sons of the morning* ! The rules for forming the Comparative and Superlative cause occasional difficulty. Leaving out of account the words which adopt altogether different words as their Comparative or Superlative forms, such as *good*, *better*, *best*—*ill* (adverb), *worse*, *worst*, the rules are roughly as follows : *more* and *most* may be used to form the Comparative and Superlative, respectively, of any adjective or adverb. However, adjectives of one syllable, and many of two, more commonly adopt *-er* and *-est* : *slower*, *happiest*. Adverbs use *-er*, *-est* only when they have the same form as the corresponding adjectives : *run harder*, *sink deepest*, though *more* and *most* are not barred, and may be found in poetry.

PUNCTUATION : THE FOUNDATION OF CLEAR EXPRESSION

PUNCTUATION is in some ways the most fundamental matter in language, though some ancient languages used no punctuation at all. Many variations from the modern usages of English punctuation are found before the nineteenth century, even in the greatest authors, where their punctuation has not been altered by a modern printer. During the nineteenth century itself a divergence of practice began ; the modern tendency is generally described as under-punctuation, while the older type of plentiful punctuation still has its adherents. It is very dangerous, however, for persons who are at all doubtful about correct punctuation to assume that they may be allowed a licence in its use. Punctuation concerns the construction of sentences, and a mistake in punctuation is thus more likely to cause misunderstanding than any other, as a rule. The custom of printing legal documents without punctuation marks, or with few, is a pedantic relic of the days when such documents were written by hand, and it might have been impossible to decide whether a particular mark was a blot or a comma. It is expecting too much of language to hope that word-order alone, without punctuation, can establish perfectly clear meanings. On the other hand, a too plentiful sprinkling of commas may divide essential parts of a sentence from each other and make them appear to be straying aimlessly.

Most of the possible variations in punctuation depend on the speed of the reading—the difference, for example, between *on or about the 28th*, and *on, or about, the 28th*. Even the variation of speed may depend upon a difference of tone, which, in the spoken sentence, implies a difference

of emphasis, and in the written sentence, is indicated by a difference of punctuation : in *He must come whether he will or no* the emphasis is on *come*, whereas in *He must come, whether he will or no*, the emphasis is on *must*. In the examples about to be discussed, no variation is in any case possible without its changing the meaning. Those who have thoroughly grasped the principles of sentence structure may observe for themselves in contemporary authors a few variations in systems of punctuation ; they will perhaps be surprised to find how few variations are possible without a change of meaning taking place. Alternatives are generally of the nature of bracketing or not bracketing a short phrase between commas. Single commas are more likely to be subject to rule.

THE COMMA : A STOP THAT IS OFTEN OVERWORKED

A COMMA, like other punctuation marks, is not essentially a mark for taking breath, though it often happens that one naturally takes breath where a comma occurs. There are sentences too long for a single breath in which it would be wrong to insert any punctuation ; there are others in which the commas would be ignored by the breath except in the most solemn reading. The two commonest errors in the use of the comma are : separating complete sentences by a comma instead of a full stop, and separating Subject from Predicate, or Verb from Object, by a comma. An example of the first mistake is :

There is nothing in the way of a reduction of the tax, we expect indeed to see part of it remitted very soon.

Each half of this alleged sentence makes complete sense by itself. If the two halves are not separated by a full stop or semicolon, they must be joined by a conjunction such as *and*, *so*, *so that*. (It should be noted that *hence* and *thus* are not conjunctions but adverbs, and therefore cannot join sentences together.) An example of the second mistake is :

He combines with the greatest personal charm and intelligence, the most selfless devotion to duty.

Omit the comma, since one would not write : *He combines, the most selfless devotion, etc.*, any more than one would write *He has, great powers*. This separation of the grammatical parts of a sentence by a comma is easy to commit in a long sentence where it is felt that a pause is needed, but commas must not be used merely to indicate a convenient pause.

The tremendous outcry and upheaval which were raised by the crowd clamouring for admission were only equalled by the demonstrations of the crowd inside the barriers.

It would be wrong to insert a comma after *admission*, because it would be interfering between the subject, *outcry and upheaval*, and its verb, *were equalled*.

In the last sentence it would be equally destructive of the sense to enclose the whole phrase *which were raised by the crowd clamouring for admission* between commas, brackets, or dashes. The punctuation of

such descriptive and inserted clauses as these (called Relative Clauses) is really a way of distinguishing two meanings, which may be illustrated by the examples :

The referee who gave a wrong decision was lynched.

The referee, who gave a wrong decision, was lynched.

The first referee is defined solely by the fact of his having given a wrong decision, and the relative clause is in this case known as a Defining Clause. The second referee has clearly been mentioned or implied in some previous sentence, and the relative clause mentions as in parenthesis that he gave a wrong decision, almost as casually as it might say *the referee, who wore a yellow shirt*.

Defining Clauses, however long, must never be enclosed between commas or other punctuation marks. Difficult examples of this type may always be solved by reducing them to some such blatant form as the above. Note that the following sentence is correctly punctuated, because it is not the Defining Clause itself which is enclosed by commas, but the clause and the word *countries* which it defines, while *in countries* is not so closely bound to *the natural opinion* by a relative word like "where" or "who" that it cannot be separated by the comma :

The natural opinion, in countries where contributory unemployment insurance is not established, is that it puts a premium on sloth.

But this sentence could also be written without any commas at all ; the result would be to remove any slight impression that *the natural opinion* was something already mentioned.

In making lists of single nouns, or series of parallel phrases or clauses, commas should be used after each item, including both the last item and any item which precedes the final *and*.

No Italians were allowed to leave their country, except diplomats, invalids, artists, and commercial travellers approved by the Fascists.

If there were no comma after *travellers*, the sentence would mean that any self-declared diplomat, invalid, or artist, might go abroad, whereas the meaning intended was that all four classes of person were subject to approval before they might leave Italy. *And* must, of course, be used to link the last pair in such a list. An example of a series of clauses is : *He plays cricket, walks, rides to hounds, and swims, better than he did before his operation.* Without the comma after *swims*, the meaning would be that only his swimming had been improved by his operation.

OTHER MARKS OF PUNCTUATION

DASHES, while easily overdone when used as a lazy substitute for other punctuation marks, are a help when they replace commas in a long sentence and, contrasting with other commas which are present, make it easier to determine the relative importance of parts of the sentence, *e.g.* :

The Prime Minister had no doubt, he said, that the setting in motion of the machinery which had been established by the Conference, not only

for Europe but for every country in the world, would release the long pent-up stream of trade from its barriers—barriers which it had been the first aim of the Conference to attack and remove—and set in motion again the wheels, etc. etc.

Semicolons can nearly always be replaced, in modern usage, by full stops. They are useful, however, to separate short sentences which, though grammatically complete in themselves, are too close in sequence to be separated by full stops without appearing jerky. A pair of short sentences separated from each other by a semicolon is often a useful device, and was very frequently used by Dr. Johnson to point an antithesis :

Whatever enlarges hope will exalt courage ; after having seen the deaf taught arithmetic, who would be afraid to cultivate the Hebrides ?

Macaulay makes excellent use of semicolons in such sentences as the one expressing his notoriously vulgar judgment about the ancient philosophers :

They promised what was impracticable ; they despised what was practicable ; they filled the world with long words and long beards ; and they left it as wicked and as ignorant as they found it.

Colons are sometimes used to separate two sentences of exactly equal importance, but the semicolon is just as applicable. The colon is probably best reserved for prefixing a list.

Exclamation marks and question marks show the end of a sentence just as though they were ordinary full stops. They should not be omitted in rhetorical questions and exclamations, in the gushing kind of writing which says : *What wonderful progress science has made in the last century ! Should we not therefore be grateful to these early pioneers ?* Proper insertion of these marks should remind a writer of the vulgarity of studding his work with many such sentences. The best antidote to a rhetorical question is to imagine always the unexpected and derisive answer in the distance.

Quotation marks should not be used as an apology for such a word as "funk." If the word is not good enough for its context, use a more literary word. If the context is too good for the word, make the context more colloquial. The inverted commas remind one of the irritating person who can hardly use a familiar phrase without interpolating—*if I may be allowed the expression.*

WHAT THE APOSTROPHE STANDS FOR

THE Genitive Case is normally indicated in English either by prefixing *of* to the noun or by adding *'s* after it. The *'s* is still added even when the noun already ends in an *s* in the singular—*Reynolds's Newspaper*, and the pronunciation also adds a syllable, as though the word were *Reynoldses*, which indeed it would have been until the fifteenth century. The apostrophe indicates the omitted *e*. The form *Reynolds' Newspaper* or *Jones' hat*, without the *s*, is common, but not so much in

vogue as formerly, except in awkward cases such as *Moses' beard*. When the *s* at the end of any word indicates that it is plural, however, the apostrophe only is added to make the Genitive Case : *the judges' decision* means the decision of more than one judge. However, it is generally clearer and neater to use *of* to form the genitive of plural words, thus : *the decision of the judges, etc.*

In order to nail down the commonest difficulty in the use of the apostrophe it is only necessary to think of the word *his*, in which no one would think of inserting an apostrophe. *His* is a Possessive word of special formation which can mean either "of him" or "belonging to him," as in *that hat is his*. Similarly, *its, theirs, yours, ours, hers, whose*, are all special Possessive words which never take an apostrophe.

The apostrophe, however, is used to indicate other omissions of letters than the *e* in *-es* which used to be the genitive ending. We write *didn't* for *did not*, *e'er* for *ever*, *he's* for *he is*, and in trying to represent dialect forms we use the apostrophe to indicate any omitted letter—*'elp ! I can't 'old the big 'un !* Thus when *it is* is abbreviated, as it usually is in speech, we write *it's*. But this has nothing whatever to do with the Genitive or Possessive.

In writing, a punctuation mark (unless a dash) should never be transferred from the end of one line to the beginning of the next.

RULES FOR PRESERVING THE SENSE OF WORDS

IT is a simple rule that a verb must agree in number with its subject—*What we want is 50,000 votes* is correct. But one often wonders whether the subject is to be considered singular or plural. Nouns of Multitude, such as *Government, fleet, etc.*, vary in number according as they imply a single body or the persons who make up the body :

The Government was powerless in this dilemma ; the Government have not many first-class brains amongst their number.

The Fleet advances behind a smoke-screen ; the Fleet are expecting their Christmas leave.

It is only too easy to change one's mind half-way through a sentence about the number of the subject, and to commit, for instance, such monstrosities as :

Those sort of people never make up their mind ; a terrible amount of misery and disease prevail ; for the last time there is presented to the Lower House measures inspired by . . .

The Indefinite Pronouns such as *each, everybody*, also cause confusion. In the following sentences, which are all correct, the subject is in every case in the singular :

Everybody sees for himself that the trouble is over.

Each of the shelves is six feet long.

No one outside the Emperor's personal party believes that restoration is possible.

Their failure was due to two reasons, neither of which was foreseen by the engineers.

I expect rapid progress if either of the new machines works at all well.

Singular nouns joined by *and* make a plural subject ; singular nouns separated by *or*, *nor*, make alternative singular subjects and take a verb in the singular, e.g. :

If the facts are as your assistant and the specialist state,
but

If the facts are as either your assistant or the specialist states, or If the facts are neither what your assistant nor what the specialist states.

The word *between* implies a choice among alternatives (two or more) ; one cannot choose between one thing at a time, as is implied in such an incorrect sentence as : *Great rivalry is bound to develop between every nation concerned.* *Between each nation* would be just as wrong ; the word *between* has already sorted the nations out into individuals in advance, as it were, and to add another individualising word such as *each* makes nonsense. Besides, *every* and *each* are both singular. *Between nations*, or *between all nations*, would be correct. Where alternatives are specified, *between* must be followed by *and*, not *or*, since *or* separates the things between which the choice is to be made, instead of leaving them grouped together for *between* to choose from. Take the sentence :

We have to decide between a reduction of the tax and a decrease in trade, and an increase in the tax and no trade at all.

If we simplify this to such a form as *decide between an increase and a decrease*, it is clear that *or* for *and* would be absurd. We do say : *They have the chance of an increase or a decrease*, because this implies either the chance of an increase or the chance of a decrease. But replace *chance of* by *choice between*, and it makes no sense to separate the parts into *choice between an increase or choice between a decrease*. There must be more than one thing to choose from.

The Relative Pronouns *who*, *which*, *that*, can be either singular or plural, according to the noun to which they refer ; no other noun can have any effect on the number of the pronoun, e.g. *One of the many débutantes who lend their names to Glogauer's Cream is Lady X* must not be altered to *lends her name*. *Who* refers to *débutantes*, which is plural ; *one* has its own Singular verb *is*.

HOW TO USE THE PRONOUN

A RELATIVE pronoun can only be used after the noun for which it stands has already been mentioned—it must, that is to say, have an antecedent noun. In the following examples there are no antecedent nouns for the pronouns *this*, *it*, and *which* :

All the tools were missing from the rack, and this caused a search to be made.

When promoting a girl to be monitor it sometimes makes the others jealous.

Juggling on the Stock Exchange caused many prices to rise suddenly, which caused a good deal of misery to consumers.

It must not be assumed that the pronouns can be taken as referring to the notions vaguely included in the three sentences—the missing of the tools, the promotion of the girl, the rise in prices. The actual words must be there to give the names to these notions. In the first two examples the words in *-ing* illustrate a possible confusion; *missing* and *promoting* can be nouns, but they are not being used as nouns, as *juggling* is, in the examples given. To recast the sentences so as to provide antecedents for the pronouns might take some very stiff phrases; it may be better to use less precise words than pronouns to join the parts of the sentences together. Conjunctions will serve very well:

As the tools were missing from the rack, a search was made.

Since juggling on the Stock Exchange caused many prices to rise, a good deal of misery was caused.

Some people avoid this type of sentence, and write faulty ones like those given before, because they are still in the elementary stage of composing only simple sentences and then stringing them together into compound ones. It is important to be able to compose without difficulty complex sentences, in which one part can immediately be seen to be less important than another and dependent on it for its full meaning.

Even when there is a proper antecedent for a pronoun, it is unwise to separate the two so much that they do not appear to belong to one another, and the pronoun hesitates between two or three previous nouns for its reference, as in:

The use of the pedals in this portion of the work is gradually introduced, to which special attention is earnestly recommended.

One should also be sure that the pronoun signifies exactly the same thing as its antecedent.

Attempts have been made to lower the training college standard, but they have always resisted these.

These clearly enough refers to *attempts*, even though that word is away at the beginning of the sentence, but though *they* is meant to refer to the *training colleges*, these actual words have not been used.

The misplaced relative, that is, the relative put next to a noun to which it is not intended to refer, can produce some of the most ridiculous mistakes of all. Examples are:

Snatching up a knife in desperation which lay on the table . . .

One of the neatest was the bay mare led in by my daughter, whose hocks won the admiration of the whole meeting.

In the first sentence *which* (the relative pronoun) is of course meant to refer to *knife*, and not to *desperation*, although grammatically it can only refer to *desperation*. Similarly, in the second example, *whose* refers to *the bay mare* and not to *my daughter*. Such sentences can generally be corrected by a little adjustment of the position of the words and by care in punctuation.

The Impersonal Pronoun causes much trouble in English. *One* is

the only correct word, but it easily sounds stilted. It must not, for instance, be replaced by *he* or *his* further on in a sentence ; *one* and *one's* must be used. The following is American or older English, but is now generally considered wrong :

One does not expect much advantage for himself from the new proposals, but he hopes they will improve the lot of others.

If we jib at repeating *one*, the only way out is to recast the sentence entirely, in some such form as : *Not much advantage is expected, etc.* The passive voice is often a useful way out of using *one*.

The unpractised writer often chooses *you* as his Impersonal Pronoun. This is acceptable if a person addressed in the second person—that is, the reader—is meant. But *you* must not be used to mean some person or other, as when a student writes : *The sun is highest in the sky at noon, as you can easily observe by measuring the angle.* The reader here is a teacher or examiner who is long past needing to measure the altitude of the sun for himself. One should alter to : . . . *as can easily be observed by measuring.* *Your*, properly handled, can express desirable shades of intimacy between a speaker and his audience, or a writer and his “ dear reader.” Comment is needless on such confusions as the following :

When one takes up the instrument, hold it in the left hand and turn the adjusting screw with the right ; you will then see . . .

It is an unfortunate defect in English that we have no pronoun to express *he* or *she* conveniently in one word. *He* or *she* soon becomes clumsy when *his* or *her*, and *to him* or *to her*, have to be introduced later in a sentence. The simplest way out of the difficulty is to accept the legal fiction that *he* includes the meaning *she* : *It is the duty of every citizen to economise in water as much as he can* does not mean that any lady ratepayer may excusably waste water. *One* would of course be quite inadmissible as a substitute for *he* or *she*. It is also desirable to avoid the self-conscious use of *one* instead of *I*, due to the English vice of conscious self-effacement. The most famous victim of this was probably the don who invited a friend to his house with the words : *One's wife would be glad to see you.* It is surely better manners to accept the responsibility of *I* instead of trying to load it upon the elusive *one*.

“ WHICH ” OR “ THAT ” : HOW SHOULD WE CHOOSE ?

THE Relative Pronouns *that* and *which* are to some extent interchangeable, but the tendency of English is always to make practical use of variations instead of allowing them to exist confusingly side by side. *Which* is no longer used, as in *Our Father which art in Heaven*, to replace words like *father* which indicate actual persons, though it may replace words like *company*, *Fiend*, which indicate persons collectively, or personifications. *That* may be used for both persons and things. The difference between the following sentences has already been defined as the difference between a Defining and a Non-Defining Clause :

The match that I saw was indecisive.
The match, which I saw, was indecisive.

It has been suggested by Fowler (*Modern English Usage*) that, apart from the difference in punctuation, it is desirable to distinguish the two kinds of clause further by using *that* for Defining Clauses and *which* for Non-Defining Clauses. Perhaps not many writers observe this rule constantly, though most observe it now and then. At any rate, there is no other rule discernible in the general uses of *that* and *which*.

And which and *but which* are, in general, not permissible, unless a preceding and parallel clause has begun with a *which*. But it must be a parallel clause.

The climbers spent the night at Camp VI, which is eight hundred feet below the summit, according to their calculations, but which we were unable to verify owing to the loss of our instruments.

The second *which* refers to *calculations* and the first to *camp*; *but* should be omitted to allow the second *which* the proper contact with its antecedent.

A long course of training which the young man can bear and will fit him for any exertion.

Which must be inserted before *will*, to provide a subject for *fit*; otherwise the sentence reads *can bear and (can) will fit*. There are some cases where *and which* is not only permissible when no *which* has previously been used, but where the meaning would be confused if the *and which* were not permitted:

A long course of training at the expense of the state and which will fit the young man for any exertion is not likely to be objected to.

Which, with the *and* omitted, would here refer to *state*; the *and which* is possible because the phrase *at the expense of the state* is parallel in meaning to the *which*-clause. Both the phrase and the clause give reasons why there would be no objections. But it is as a rule neater to make a true relative clause of the first phrase in such instances as this:

A long course of training which will be at the expense of the state, and which will fit . . .

It is useful to remember that the genitive case of the relative pronoun *that* is *whose*, and that this word may often conveniently replace a clumsy *of which*. *The committee seem to have drawn up the agreement in phrases of the meaning of which they are by no means aware* would be neater with . . . *phrases of whose meaning they are by no means aware*.

DECIDING THE MERITS OF "WHO" AND "WHOM"

A DECISION between *who* and *whom* in relative clauses may be made by reducing them to the "referee" form suggested earlier.

The referee, who, we all saw, was incapable, was injured.
The referee whom we all saw was injured. . .

The second sentence may be checked by converting it to the form: *We*

all saw whom. *Whom* is here the object of *saw*, and *referee* the subject of *injured*. In the first sentence the commas enclosing *we all saw* may be omitted, so long as it is realised that the phrase is a mere parenthesis and has no effect upon *who*, the subject of *was incapable*. The correctness of *whom* in such questions as *Whom did you see?* may be checked by substituting *him* for *whom* in the answer. In speech and colloquial writing, of course, *Who did you see?* or *Who do you mean?* are as common and venial as *It is me* for *It is I*. One should not be misled by a relative pronoun into changing the case of another pronoun immediately preceding it: *We have no sympathy with him* retains *him* when it is expanded into: *We have no sympathy with him who would put national interests first in these times.* *Who* is the subject of *would put*; *him* is accusative after *with*, and the analogy of *who* must not be allowed to convert it into *he*.

THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE: AN ATTRACTIVE WORD WHICH IS SOMETIMES MISUSED

DIFFICULTIES often arise in English from the misuse of the present participle—the form of the verb which ends in *-ing* and which always implies continuous action. The present participle affords an attractive way of getting over the ground quickly so as to get at the main verb in a sentence: *Running blindly in the dusk, he fell and broke his leg* is swifter in its effect than: *He was running blindly in the dusk when he fell and broke his leg.* It also puts more emphasis upon his accident than on the way in which it happened. If we wish to emphasise, instead, the action immediately preceding and causing his accident, we can again use participles: *He ran blindly on in the dusk, falling and breaking his leg.* But the participle-phrases must in each case relate to the subject of the finite verb in the sentence; we cannot say: *Shaving in the morning, the sun shines in at my window.* If, however, the participle-phrase itself includes a noun or pronoun, this may be quite other than the subject of the sentence, e.g.: *Richard having shaved, they were all ready to go.*

In this sentence it would be wrong to insert a comma after *Richard*, as is sometimes done, under the impression that the sentence is of the same form as: *Richard, having shaved, packed his bag and went out*, in which *Richard* is the subject of the finite verb *packed* and therefore the subject of the sentence. One may test such sentences by removing the participle phrase. In the second example, *Richard packed his bag* remains, whereas in the first, *Richard* disappears and thus cannot be the subject of the sentence. Words like *considering* are of course no longer participles in such phrases as *Considering how our life is spent*, and do not come under the rules just given, though they do when they are used as participles.

MIXING PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

I*SHOULD have liked to accept your invitation* is correct, implying that “if I had been able to accept it I should have enjoyed myself, though the chance of that is unfortunately over now.” The mistaken form *should have liked to have accepted* would mean, if it meant anything, that

"I should only have enjoyed myself when the accepting and the invitation and all the rest of it was over."

As he was doubtful of the way, he appears to have asked some tribesmen is correct. This is a report of a past event—*he was doubtful, etc.*—by someone else. It is to someone else, trying to piece the story together, that he appears, now, to have asked the way. If one had written *appeared*, it would mean that the man appeared to himself at the time to be asking the way! This use of *appear* is obviously different from that in: *He was doubtful of the way, but appeared at last on the crest of the hill, where the guide discovered him with field-glasses.* Here the doubting and the appearing are more or less contemporary. Mistakes of tense such as those here illustrated are common with *appear* and *seem*.

PITFALLS IN INDIRECT SPEECH

IN reporting another person's words, in what is called Indirect Speech, all pronouns are turned into the third person—the speaker's *I* becomes *he* or *she*—and all verbs and expressions of time are made past tense. Further, the order of words in an original question must be turned back into the order normal for a statement. The original statement may have been as follows:

I say that you are incapable, at present, of appreciating this point. I challenge you: how could you know what went on after the tenth of July?

The reported statement must become:

He said that he was incapable, at that time, of appreciating that point. He challenged him to say how he could have known what went on after the tenth of July.

A common mistake is to write: *He challenged him how could he know . . .* The rules governing reported speech are sometimes forgotten when a quotation, within its quotation marks, is incorporated in a sentence. It is often best to keep a quotation right outside the grammatical structure of the sentence, e.g.:

Hamlet frightens Ophelia with the curse: "If thou dost marry, I'll give thee this plague for thy dowry: be thou chaste as ice, as pure as snow, thou shalt not escape calumny."

THE PUZZLE PROVIDED BY THE INFINITIVE

CONFUSION often arises between such pairs as *able to do a thing* and *capable of doing it*; *refusal to proceed* and *objection to proceeding*. Only a full knowledge of the language can teach when the infinitive is possible and when the gerund. Usage is illogical about many of these examples. But the safest rule is to use the word in *-ing* when in doubt. A hundred mistakes like *the impossibility to improve* (for *of improving*) are found for one of the type: *refusal of proceeding*.

The split infinitive is one of the most easily detected of forms, e.g.: *to rapidly disappear*. It is, in consequence, often sedulously avoided by people who will break many important grammatical rules in complete

ignorance. The avoidance of the split infinitive is not a grammatical rule. The split infinitive is very often ugly and best avoided, but in unskilled hands its avoidance may produce something much uglier and more doubtful of meaning : *We expect the young American to attain speedily high rank among racing drivers.* What on earth is *speedily high rank*? The usual solution is : *We expect the young American speedily to attain . . .*, but there are cases where the adverb in the position of *speedily* may inescapably appear to belong to the word preceding it, instead of to the infinitive from which it has been extracted. In the following sentence, for instance, the most uncompromising opponent of the split infinitive could not alter the position of *deliberately* without making the meaning ridiculous : *Most men will hesitate to deliberately avoid irksome responsibilities incurred by chance.* The sentence might be recast as : *. . . hesitate at deliberately avoiding . . .*, but that is no essential condemnation of the split infinitive.

HARD-WORKED VERBS THAT LACK A TENSE

THE verbs *can*, *may*, *must*, and *ought* are unfortunately all defective : *must* and *ought* have no past tense, for instance, and none of them have any future tense. The distinction between *can* and *may* is often forgotten. *Can he come with us?*, for instance, means *Will he be able to come?*—*to leave his work?*—*to walk as fast as we do?*, etc. *May he come with us?*, on the other hand, means *Has he permission to join us?*—*Do you object to his coming?* *Can* and *may* become *could* and *might* in the past, and this should be remembered when words are quoted in indirect speech :

He asked if he might come ; I said I could come to-morrow, but not to-day.

A sentence such as : *No books may be removed without permission* is sometimes altered to : *No books must . . .*, etc. This form means that no one is bound to remove any book without permission, but that there is nothing against anyone doing so if he wishes ! The negative of *Books must be removed* is *Books must not be removed*. Or, comparing the correct and incorrect forms above in a parallel phrasing, they mean respectively : *No books are allowed to be removed* and *No books are bound to be removed*.

Ought must never be used with *did* or *had*, as in : *He didn't ought, I hadn't ought to have done it.* The negative is : *He ought not, I ought not to have done it.* The simplest form for the past is *had* : *He had to do it, I hadn't to do it.*

TWO VERBS THAT BRISTLE WITH COMPLICATIONS

TO express the simple future, with no implication of determination, compulsion, or promise, *shall* is used for the first person and *will* for the second and third persons : *I shall, we shall be there ; you, he, she, it, they, will be there.* But there are many more complications than these in the uses of *shall* and *will*. *Will* is used in the first person to show determination : *I will have my own way* (in speech the emphasis comes

heavily on *will*). *Shall* is used in the second and third persons to imply a command or a promise : *You shall die ! They shall do as they are told ; he shall have it in the morning.*

The past tenses of *shall* and *will* are *should* and *would*, but are used mainly to form the conditional mood (more vividly described as the future-in-the-past) : *I should have hurried if I had known I was late.* In this sentence the hurrying would have been subsequent to the realisation of being late, though both events are now recounted in the past. For a simple conditional statement *should*, like *shall*, is reserved for the first person, and *would*, like *will*, for the second and third : *we should have hurried, they would have, you would have, he would have hurried,* etc. Comparably to *will*, however, *would* is used for all three persons to imply determination : *I would have my own way* (with emphasis on *would*). And again, *should* is used for all three persons to imply an obligation : *I should, he should, they should, we should not go to bed so late.*

A GOLDEN RULE FOR OMISSIONS

A FULL phrase such as : *As safe as or safer than the bicycle* is often wrongly abbreviated to : *As safe or safer than the bicycle.* This is equivalent to : *Safer than the bicycle or as safe the bicycle.* When the comparing word is the same for both comparisons it need not, however, be repeated : *As safe and comfortable as the bicycle* implies *as safe as and as comfortable as.*

One of the if not the last specimens of his race is a horrible mixture of *one of the last specimens* and *the last specimen.* One cannot pick on either *specimen* or *specimens* to do duty for both singular and plural at the same time. The sentence must be corrected to either of the following : *One of the last specimens, if not the last specimen, of his race ; one of the last specimens of his race, if not the last (of all, etc.).*

Other examples of wrongful omission are illustrated by the bracketed words, which some people would incorrectly omit, in the following :

The substance has now (dissolved) or should shortly dissolve. A simple experiment shows that the activity of ozone is much greater than (that of) oxygen.

Another instance is : *The judge remanded and granted Jones bail,* which must be altered to : *The judge remanded Jones and granted him bail.* Though *Jones* is the object of *remanded*, the succeeding word *bail* drags *Jones* after it, cutting off *Jones*, as it were, from its power of harking back to *remanded* which it can exercise in the simple form : *The judge remanded and released Jones.*

A golden rule in general is : never be afraid of repeating a word as many times as are necessary for correct grammar and for making the meaning absolutely clear.

WHERE THE ALTERNATIVE SHOULD GO

EITHER must be followed by *or*, *neither* by *nor*, and the adjective *not* by *nor*, when alternatives are expressed, as in : *The obstructionists were determined that no progress should be made, nor business transacted, while*

their demands remained unsatisfied. Either, neither, not, and similar words which may be used to express alternatives must be placed immediately before the alternatives which they present. The following, for instance, is incorrect : The handkerchief is either worn in the sleeve or drooping from the breast-pocket. This should read : The handkerchief is worn either in the sleeve. . . . The handkerchief is being worn in either case ; the alternatives are in the sleeve and drooping from the breast-pocket, and the alternative words either and or should be directly attached to these phrases.

The same rule applies to *both* : *both in England and in France, not both in England and France, since the phrases to be compared are in England, in France, and not in England, France. Both used as an adverb in this manner must be followed by and. It is not uncommon to find such phrases as : Of interest both to the editor as well as to the members of the public involved. If both is omitted its function is still performed by as well as. One of the two is redundant. One should put either : Of interest both to the editor and to . . . , or of interest to the editor as well as to In fact the original example was equivalent to : . . . both to the editor both to the members of the public involved. Both binds two things together ; thus it is spoiled by adding such a word as equally or between to separate the things again, as in such bad examples as : Both of them were equally ready to give way. (The two of them, taken indissolubly together, as connected by both, cannot be in any way "equal" to each other taken separately.) It is possible to choose between both the old and the new styles. (Read either the old or the new styles, omitting between, or keep between and omit both.)*

Hesitation to use *and* as the proper sequel to *both* or *between* arises generally in a long sentence, from fear that the *and* will be lost, or perhaps confused with some other *and*, as in the example used earlier for another purpose :

*We have to decide between a reduction of the tax and a decrease in trade,
and an increase in the tax and no trade at all.*

The middle *and* of the three must be preserved ; the two halves of the comparison might be differentiated more sharply, however, by adding *on the one hand* and *on the other hand*.

Either and *neither* when used as pronouns apply to choice between two things only ; one must speak of *any of the angles of a triangle*, not *either angle*, or *neither angle*. *Neither* used as an adverb, however (i.e. where it does not replace a noun or describe a noun), may express choice between as many things as you please :

*"Neither my place, nor aught I heard of business,
Hath raised me from my bed ; nor doth the general care
Take hold on me."*

Neither is here equivalent to *not*.

COUPLING WORDS THAT ARE SOMETIMES MISUSED

DUE to is not a preposition-phrase like *owing to*. *Due* is still purely an adjective or participle, and therefore must be attached to a noun or pronoun. Thus we may say : *It is due to my early upbringing that I am fond of the sea* (where *due* qualifies the indefinite *it*) ; or we may say :

Owing to my early upbringing, etc. . . ., or, On account of my early upbringing . . ., but on no account should we say : *Due to my early upbringing I am fond of the sea.* A rule which will roughly cover most cases is : never use *due to* at the beginning of a sentence or phrase.

Try to do a thing, not *try and*, as though the trying were a different process from the doing, as in : *Go and do it.*

I did not think of doing it, not *think to do it.* *Think* cannot be followed by an infinitive, as *remember* and *intend* can, unless it means *expect*, e.g. : *I did not think to see you again.*

It cannot happen unless they know of it, not *without they know of it.* *Without* is not now a conjunction, though once it was.

The reason is that his deafness prevented him, not *The reason is because his deafness prevented him.* *The reason* is itself the "because" of the matter.

One should never be afraid of putting a preposition at the end of a sentence or phrase if the meaning is made clearer thereby. A final preposition is often ugly, but its rigid avoidance is as great a bugbear with some people as the split infinitive. *Too commonplace to be worth looking at* cannot possibly be altered to the form : *too commonplace at which to be worth looking.*

HOW COMPARISONS SHOULD BE EXPRESSED

LIKE is a preposition, as a conjunction. *Like* is used with nouns and pronouns only ; it governs them in the accusative case, like any other preposition : *like him, like me*, etc. *As* must be used for all other comparisons, between clauses, phrases, or sentences. The four sentences following are correct :

He was obstinate, like his predecessors.

He was obstinate, as his predecessors were.

Why don't you try to keep cool, like him ?

Why don't you try to keep cool, as he does ?

Than is not a preposition, and consequently is not followed by the accusative case : *taller than I*, not *taller than me* ; *less young than he*, not *less young than him.* *Than* whom, however, has established itself, though it is often best avoided ; according to the Oxford Dictionary it is the only example of the use of *than* as a preposition.

The word *prefer* is not followed by *than* : *prefer A to B*, not *prefer A than B.* *Prefer* itself includes the sense of comparison for which *than* is sometimes falsely introduced, on the analogy of such phrases as *more desirable than* ; *prefer* means to like better than. Hence also, the adjective *preferable* cannot be qualified by *more.* If you prefer a thing you like it more than some other thing ; you do not need to say that you find it "more like-moreable" than the other thing.

Equally as is nonsense. *One is as wild as the other*, or *They are equally wild*, but not *One is equally as wild as the other.*

In comparisons, adjectives and adverbs sometimes become confused. The commonest instance is in such phrases as : *He dresses smarter than the rest.* *He dresses smartly* is obviously right ; the comparative is therefore *more smartly.* The mistake is as bad as : *He likes his beer regular*, or *He walks similar to you.* *Fast*, of course, can be both adjective and adverb ; *He runs faster* is therefore correct.

Everyone agrees that *much different from* or *very improved* is wrong, but there are many cases harder to decide. The rule is that *very* goes with an adjective, and *much* with a participle—a real participle that is not being used as an adjective at the time. This may be illustrated by the following examples in which one word is employed in different uses. In the sentence : *The report of my death was much exaggerated* (i.e. by someone or other), *was exaggerated* is the complete verb of which the participle *exaggerated* forms part, but in the sentence : *The tyre expanded to a very exaggerated size before it burst*, *exaggerated* is a pure adjective ; it is the size that is exaggerated beyond the usual.

A FEW HINTS ABOUT CHOOSING WORDS

ERRORS in vocabulary, as in many other matters of custom and usage, are often more serious when committed by the person who thinks himself correct than when due to natural ignorance or simplicity. While the general standard of writing in popular literature, newspapers, and periodicals is probably rising, it is still disfigured by too many examples of what H. W. Fowler has admirably christened “elegant variation.” Elegant variation may be permissible in matters where elegance is the chief end intended : *dress, frock, robe, and gown*, for instance, though each word may have some special uses, are very imperfectly differentiated. But in other matters elegant variation is every day tending to ruin the meaning of useful words which have, or once had, a distinct meaning of their own. It cannot be too often repeated that in writing good English there are no upper-class and no lower-class words ; there are only words appropriate or inappropriate to one’s meaning. It is the class-conscious who cause so much trouble with vocabulary—the people who say, for instance, *your psychology* when they mean *your mind*, or *Epic in the North Sea* when they mean *Brave deed in the North Sea*, or *Heroism in the North Sea*.

The objection to *psychology* and *epic* in these contexts is not a class-conscious objection ; it is a protest made necessary because *psychology* has its own specialised meaning as the study of the mind, and *epic* has its own specialised meaning as a long poem celebrating heroic achievements—the *Odyssey* or Dante’s *Inferno*, for instance. The essence of the objection is not merely that these are the older meanings of *psychology* and *epic*, for many words in everyday use have changed their meanings unexceptionably in the last five hundred years ; it is that if the newer “meanings” prevail, there will no longer be single words to express the study of the mind, or a long heroic poem. In the list below of words subject to misuse, distinction of meaning is in each case the reason for the distinction of words ; the one exception, perhaps, is the word “*humans*,” which is not yet recognised, in literary English, as a noun equivalent to *human beings*. It was never used as a noun, except facetiously or in children’s fairy stories, until the early years of this century ; it is becoming so useful, however, that it seems likely that fifty years may see its complete establishment as a noun.

A good example of meaningless and confusing variation comes from a chemistry handbook :

Whilst we will concede the name nitro-cellulose to the commercial world, we will reserve for the laboratory sphere the more correct appellation cellulose nitrate.

Probably most amateur writers could with advantage write more simply than they do. The effort is very necessary, though it is in fact harder to write the simple English of Swift or Bernard Shaw than the florid English of Carlyle or of an average local newspaper.

Another danger to vocabulary, as great as that of elegant variation, is what I. A. Richards calls the projectile use of words. Words like *awfully* and *ghastly* are first associated with certain emotions and are then flung into the breach simply to signify those emotions. There is an element of this degradation in the misuse of *epic*. Other examples are *years!* and *hours!* to mean any period of time which seems long, and *minutes!* or *seconds!* for any period which seems short.

A third danger, that of genteel substitution, is fortunately less prevalent since the post-war return to the vocabulary which had been normal to English all through its history until the early nineteenth century. More and more people nowadays say *bitch* for a female dog, reserving the false *lady-dog* for a dog with ladylike manners, if they use the word at all. *Belly* is also returning to its own; *stomach* for *belly* is of exactly the same order of inexactitude as *lungs* for *chest*. It is interesting to observe that *serviette* for *napkin* has become so widespread that to use *napkin* may often be legitimately thought an affectation to-day—a genteelism ungenteelised!

A LIST OF WORDS LIABLE TO MISUSE

AFFECT and EFFECT: When one is affected by anything one is moved, perhaps deeply; one's affections are very likely engaged or one's affairs are involved. There is no noun *affect* except as a technical term in psychology. When anything is *effected* it is performed: *They effected an entrance*. It is all over; the *effect* or result desired has been produced. *Effectual* and *efficient* may also help in remembering the meaning of *effect*.

AGGRAVATE means to make worse, to make more grave. It does not mean to annoy. It is thus incorrect to say: *What an aggravating child you are!*

AS TO WHETHER is a useless phrase. *Whether* covers all the possible meanings: *The question whether he will stay or not has soon settled itself*.

CASE as a vague word referring to a matter or occasion previously mentioned is subject to much abuse. It has been well riddled with ridicule by Quiller-Couch in his lecture on "Jargon" in *The Art of Writing*. In very many instances it is clearer to omit *case* or *in the case of*, e.g.: *In the case of late-comers a special fee will be charged*. Why not: *Late-comers will be charged a special fee?* With *case* may be classified *side*, *part*, and some other words which are often vainly juggled with in an attempt to differentiate one abstract instance from another, e.g.: *On the psychological side there is nothing to object to in the conditions of labour*. This

means : *From the psychological point of view*, etc. *When we come to the international part of the dispute* probably means : *When we come to the international aspect*. . . . With *side*, *part*, *aspect*, etc., the important thing is to decide whether a difference of viewpoint from the outside is indicated, as by *aspect*, a division of content, as by *part*, or a division of function, which can sometimes be expressed by *side* : *He is weak on the mathematical side*, and sometimes by *output* or other words according to the context. It is essential to make clear by the differentiating word exactly the kind of differentiation which is intended.

CERTAIN is sometimes clumsily used where an actual example had better be given :

Suppose a man makes a certain proposal to another man, and this man refuses to do this certain thing.

If this sentence must be kept in general terms, it should be simplified to : *If a man makes a proposal to another (man) and is refused*. The indefinite article *a* should generally be indefinite enough by itself, and *certain* is acquiring a nasty flavour from its frequent use in newspapers to avoid prosecution : *He made witness a certain proposal*. *A proposal* would be quite as good. The unskilled writer often uses the indefinite *certain* when a well-chosen example would add both life and meaning to his sentence ; the definite can often well indicate the indefinite, so long as a pure abstraction or generalisation is not required, e.g. the first of the following three is the most vivid :

A "Second Mrs. Tanqueray" scandal would be impossible to-day ; even the third Mrs. Tanqueray would excite little comment.

There would be no scandal to-day about the plays which shocked the last century.

A certain play which caused much scandal in the last century would hardly excite comment to-day.

COMPOSE and COMPRISE : *Comprise* means comprehend or include, and is often replaceable by *include* : *The house includes (or comprises) three bedrooms*, but *The house is composed of three bedrooms, two sitting-rooms, etc.*

CONTEXT means the text, printing or writing, which is with (con) something already mentioned. The context of "fair round belly with fat capon lined" is :

"And then the justice
(In fair round belly, etc. . . .)
With eyes severe, and beard of formal cut,
Full of wise saws and modern instances."

Context has no meaning unless there is something for it to act as context to.

CONTINUANCE and CONTINUATION : The continuance of something is the mere fact of its continuing to be in existence ; the continuation of something is the active causing of it to continue or to extend when it might otherwise die or disappear, or it may mean the portion which is added on, the extension : *The continuance of distress gives His Majesty*

much concern. The continuation of the debate on these measures is fixed for Friday. It is incorrect to write: *the continuation of these measures next year*, if the measures remain the same and no Act is needed to continue them for another year; *the continuation of the time of operation of these measures* is a correct use of continuation.

CREDIBLE and CREDITABLE: One sometimes finds: *It is hardly creditable that . . .* in mistake for: *It is hardly credible that . . .* The confusion arises from the double application of *credit*: to credit or believe a story, and to credit a person with good or bad qualities.

DISINTERESTED means without any axe to grind. *A disinterested spectator would have said that both the home and the visiting teams were guilty of foul play*: this disinterested spectator was deeply interested in the game—if he had been uninterested in football he would not have been there—but it was not to his interest to favour one team or the other, since all were strangers to him. *Disinterested* is derived from *interest* as used in the sense: *It's in your interests that I advise you.* *Uninterested* is the negative derived from *interest* in the commoner sense. Whether one starts without any interest in the game, or loses interest as the game goes on, one is in either case uninterested. *Dis-* in *disinterested* has not the sense of undoing something, like *dis-* in *disconnect*.

EFFECT, see AFFECT.

E.G. is always written in small letters (*e.g.*), stands for *exempli gratia*, and means *for example*. *i.e.* is also written with small letters, stands for *id est*, and means *that is*. The abbreviations are obviously not interchangeable.

EGOISTIC is applied to a person who refers all his ideas and actions to the advantage or disadvantage they are likely to bring to himself. It does not imply a person who is simply much preoccupied with himself—self-absorbed, or introspective—nor a person who regards things subjectively, *i.e.*, as many poets do, through a strong colouring of his own emotions, instead of objectively, as an impartial investigator would.

ENAMOURED OF, not enamoured with.

ETC. should not be used out of laziness, when the *cetera*—the rest, the things that follow—could not be guessed with certainty by the reader. It is permissible to say: *They set off with a great load of picks, shovels, stakes, hammers, etc., to break up the road*, because the rest of the tools required can be guessed from those named; but the following is bad: *Being an illiterate person, he knew nothing of Shakespeare, Milton, etc.*; a general effect was here intended, and some such general phrase as *English literature* should have been used.

EXIT is singular; *exeunt* is plural. *Exit the Die-Hards* will not do.

ILK means same, and nothing else. Englishmen never need the word. *Macintosh of that ilk* means Macintosh of the place called Macintosh.

INDIVIDUAL as a noun should not be used unless it means a person

considered individually, in contrast with the group of which he is a member. A *seedy-looking individual* could probably be found in Dickens for a *seedy-looking person*, but is not correct, even facetiously. An example of the correct use is : *At first sight the Dinka seem a very fierce people, but the individual generally turns out to be quite amiable.*

INSTINCT must not be used loosely for any deep impulse, intuition, or inclination. A bad case in a newspaper was : *Perhaps, in spite of their deepest instincts, they gave way to the inclination to sleep and lay down in the snow.* Instinct might be used for *sleep*, but certainly not for the acquired knowledge that sleeping in the snow means almost certain death. An instinct is a fundamental tendency—to build nests, to burrow in the ground, to breed children—ingrained in the individual, man or animal, and derived not only from his own experience, but as a rule from the experience of countless generations of ancestors.

INFER and IMPLY mean much the same as deduce and suggest. *The master inferred from the shuffling of feet that the class wished to imply that the lesson was over.* The two words are not interchangeable.

LAY and LIE. The difference between these two verbs is that *lay* is transitive, that is, it is used with an object, as in the sentence *I lay the book down on the table*, and *lie* is intransitive. It is wrong to say *I lie the book down* or to say *I lay down to sleep but begin to read*. Confusion also arises because the present tense of *lay* is the same in form as the past tense of *lie*. Thus *I lay down and went to sleep* is correct. *I lay down and go to sleep*, on the contrary, is grammatically wrong. The past tense of *lay* is *laid* : *I laid it down just now*. The past participle of *lay* is *laid* and of *lie* is *lain*. The commonest pitfalls lurk in such sentences as the following : *Having lain down (not laid down) for an hour, I felt rested* and *I was lying down (not laying down) after dinner*.

LITERALLY means : in the actual letter of the sense. *Literally roasted* means : cooked like a joint of beef, at a similar temperature and to the same extent. In its vulgar use as a mere intensifier, *literally* is used when the exact opposite—*figuratively*—is really implied : *I was literally melted that afternoon !*

OBLIVIOUS OF what goes on (not “to what goes on.”). *Unconscious of or insensible to* are more exact in many of the modern instances of the word.

OUGHT is an inexcusable vulgarism for nought. The word does not exist except as a verb.

PART, see CASE.

QUITE means *entirely, completely*, and therefore cannot be qualified, as is sometimes attempted in *almost quite*.

REFER is a word much overworked. It often needs differentiating into such meanings as : quote, adduce, confirm, say. *Refer* covers a

very limited number of the relationships possible between one statement and another.

SAME, SUCH, SAID. *Same* and *Such* as nouns, and *said* as an adjective, are a mark of the very unskilled writer. *Same* is generally resorted to in the fear of repeating a word, or of using a homely pronoun : *am hopeful of obtaining same*—why not *obtaining it*?

SIDE, see **CASE.**

SUBSTITUTE. *To substitute* means to put in place of, and nothing else, e.g. : *During the War margarine was substituted for butter.* One should put the thing which replaces first, and so avoid the mistake : *Butter was substituted by margarine* (instead of *replaced by margarine*).

THE is sometimes unnecessarily introduced by unskilled writers before a word unfamiliar to them, as though they were afraid to handle it without gloves : *Bacon was the first Englishman to delve deep into the philosophy* (instead of *into philosophy*).

UNIQUE means : alone of its kind, and therefore cannot be qualified by rather, almost, or other words.

HOW TO IMPROVE YOUR SPELLING

WORDS ending in *-ful*, whether nouns like *handful* or adjectives like *awful*, have a single *l*. To form adverbs from these adjectives add *-ly* : *awfully, peacefully*.

Words ending in a mute *e* drop the *e* before a vowel, in forming compounds, but not before a consonant : *lovable, loving, lovely, liking, likable, likely*, etc. There are a few exceptions for reasons of pronunciation, to distinguish between *singing* and *singeing*, for instance ; the *e* is preserved when it is needed to keep a *g* or *c* soft, as in *peaceable*. Other exceptions are words of one syllable such as *true*, which form compounds such as *truly, duly, wholly*, etc.

Capital letters belong to proper nouns only. It is illiterate to use them for any word which chances to be outstanding, or for the title of a piece of writing when repeated in the body of the writing, as when a schoolboy writes : "*We now come to the real Advantages of the Cinema.*" A word may need a capital or a small letter at different times, according as it is a proper or a common noun :

The government of the country was in the hands of a clique ; The Government took office yesterday.

Returning to the old School ; Running to school in the morning.

The plural forms of some classes of word cause difficulty : a *phenomenon, a criterion, a bacterium, a curriculum, an erratum, a stratum, a memorandum*, but several *phenomena, criteria, bacteria, curricula, errata, strata, memoranda*. Words ending in *-y* add *-s* for their plural if the *y* is preceded by a vowel—*key, keys*—but change *-y* into *-ies* if it is preceded by a consonant—*sty, sties*. Words ending in *-o* are not completely classifiable.

Fowler suggests eight classes which still admit of a few exceptions. But the words most in use, and the oldest words, as a rule have *-oes* in the plural: *potatoes, tomatoes, banjoes, noes, negroes*, etc. Less common words, and words in which a vowel precedes the *-o*, generally have no *e* in the plural: *octavos, patios*. When it is necessary to write the plural of a letter of the alphabet, an apostrophe is necessary to avoid a possible misreading as a word of two letters, e.g.: *there are two a's in algebra*. This is the only case in which an apostrophe is used to indicate a plural. The plurals of proper names, however awkward, are indicated by adding *-s* or *-es* in the ordinary way: *there are few Spartas in the world to-day; the Jameses have asked us to tea*.

A LIST OF SPELLING TRAPS

ALL RIGHT. (There is no such word as "alright.")
ANTI- means against, and **ante-** before, as in *antiseptic* and *ante-chamber*.

AY for *yes* and *aye* for *ever* seem standardised, except that the plural is *ayes*, in: *the ayes have it*. Pronounce *ay* to rhyme with *eye* and *aye* to rhyme with *eh*.

BRIT-: the only word with two t's from this root is *Brittany*. Others are: *Britannia, Briton, Britain*.

CHOOSE has past tense *chose*.

CINEMA, not *kinema*. *Kinema* meant something else in Ancient Greek, and was accented differently, and a film theatre in modern Greece is called a *sinema*, with a Greek *s*.

COMMODE, COMMODIOUS—hence *accommodation* (two c's, two m's).

COMPARATIVELY: Two a's, as in *comparable*, though the latter word is accented differently, i.e. on the first syllable.

DESICCATED: the prefix is *de-*, the root *sicc-*, therefore only one *s* is needed.

DISAPPOINT: the prefix is *dis-*; so only one *s* is necessary.

EMBARRASS, embarrassment, have two r's and two s's.

HARASS has only one r.

HUMOROUS, from *humour*. Also *vigorous, vaporous, odorous*, etc. But derivatives in *-ist, -able*, keep the *u*: *humourist, colourable*.

LICENCE is the noun and *license* the verb. Similarly *practice* and *practise*.

LOSE and **LOOSE**: the verb *to loose* means to set free or to loosen, and is now mainly biblical in use.

NECESSITY: *ne-cessity*—hence *ne-cessary*, in spite of the accent's moving from the second to the first syllable.

PARALLEL, paralleled, unparallelled.

PENINSULA: Britain is an insular kingdom. The adjective *insular* gives the adjective *peninsular*, used of Monaco, for instance: *this tiny peninsular state*. But Monaco is situated on a *peninsula*.

PRECEDE and **PROCEED**: *Accede, cede, concede, intercede, recede, secede*, but *exceed, succeed*. No rule can help.

PRINCIPAL and **PRINCIPLE**: *Principle* means an article of faith or belief, or a universal law, e.g. *the principle of equality before the law*. The other word was originally an adjective—*principal actors*, etc.—and in every case where it is used as a noun it could be converted back

into an adjective qualifying a suppressed noun which could be reinserted : principal (sum of money), principal (officer or teacher of a college), principal (person in a suit or negotiation)—*I must consult my principal* means : I must consult the person for whom I am acting.

SEPARATE, either adjective or verb ; -a- as in *reparation*.

SIMILE, plural *similes*.

WOOLLEN (two l's).

SOME USEFUL REFERENCE BOOKS

A VERY small number of books suffices for a complete guide to every technical matter of correctness in the English language. The only comprehensive dictionary of both common and uncommon errors and difficulties is the invaluable *Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, by H. W. Fowler (author, with his brother, of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* and the *Pocket Oxford Dictionary*). This book discusses points in grammar, vocabulary, punctuation, style, and spelling, in a full, clear, and often very amusing manner, and some of the section-headings, such as *Elegant Variation* and *Sturdy Indefensibles*, are so useful that they seem likely to become recognised technical terms. This dictionary is alphabetical in arrangement ; much of its contents, often with fuller examples, is to be found under different arrangement in an equally amusing book by the brothers Fowler—*The King's English*.

For those who are seriously troubled by the anomalous English spelling system, there are various manuals, such as *The New Era Spelling Manual*, which arrange difficulties intelligently in classes, and are as practicable for adults as for school-children. An equally suitable grammar of modern English, however, is a much more difficult book to find. A foreigner acquainted with the grammar of his own language might prefer the formal grammar books which give tables of the "cases" of English nouns, and the personal and other forms of English verbs. He would soon discover, however, that much simplification was necessary, while he would continue to be puzzled by subtle distinctions and modes of thought which did not exist in his own language, or for which there were no words, at least, in his own language. He would then join with the questioning adult Englishman in welcoming a book which discusses function rather than form, such as the very stimulating *Our Living Language*, by Grattan and Gurrey. Some parts of this book are very difficult, for the adequate reason that it is impossible, in dealing with such a subtle language as English, to make them any simpler. The most complete and authoritative grammar for reference purposes is the *Modern English Grammar* of Professor Jespersen, a Dane who writes in English.

IN SEARCH OF THE "MOT JUSTE"

A BOOK whose usefulness is sometimes misconceived is *Roget's Thesaurus of Words and Phrases*. This is a dictionary of synonyms and antonyms, i.e. of words and phrases of similar and of opposite meaning. Suppose one is searching for a word to mean "severe, so that it cannot be avoided" ;

one has met with such a word somewhere, but cannot remember it. Under *severe* in the index to the *Thesaurus* one finds eight classes of use for this word : *energetic, symmetry, exact, severe in style, harsh, painful, simple, critical*. *Harsh* is nearest to the desired meaning, and turning up *harsh* in the body of the book one runs through a number of words indicating harshness until one reaches the wanted word—*inexorable*. The meaning of *inexorable* may then be checked from an ordinary dictionary, or more precisely by turning it up again in the index, and tracing its uses under the six headings there given. A dictionary of synonyms is useful enough, but it should not be used simply as a museum of strange words. Words do not live until they have been seen in use in an actual context ; to pick *inexorable* at random to mean *severe*, never having come across it before, would obviously be dangerous ; one cannot speak, for instance, of *inexorable* treatment, though one may of *harsh* treatment. *Crabb's English Synonyms*, and some other dictionaries of synonyms, have the advantage of including examples of the use of most of the words with which they deal ; the *Thesaurus* covers so many words and cross-references that to include examples would probably make it of an impracticable size.

A dictionary of quotations is a necessary assistant, if only to keep one from writing *A thing of beauty and a joy for ever* when what Keats wrote was *A thing of beauty is a joy for ever*, or *Music hath charms to soothe the savage beast*, when what Congreve wrote was *Music has charms to soothe a savage breast*. To verify all one's quotations, even (or especially) the most familiar, is a further lesson in the correct use of English. One of the fullest and most practical dictionaries of quotations, not only in English but in all the languages commonly quoted in England, is that of W. Gurney Benham. Its index is very full, and there are special sections for proverbs and Biblical quotations.

PRACTICAL JOURNALISM

by HOLT ST. JOHN

*M*OST people who wish to write as a whole or part-time occupation send their first efforts to a newspaper. The vast organisation of the modern daily press receives the article, tests it by the needs of the public, rejects it, or sends it on its way to publication—through the hands of the sub-editor, compositor, on to the revolving machines and out again in print. The newspaper is in closer and more immediate touch with the public than any other publication ; it aims to interest everyone, every day. Newspapers must always be innovating ; the need of maintaining vast sales in the face of unflinching competition from other dailies ensures that no contribution is overlooked, nothing of promise rejected. Those who wish to embark on the adventure of journalism should first familiarise themselves with the editorial machinery through which their articles must pass, whether it is their intention ultimately to become a permanent part of that machinery, or whether they wish to use it as an occasional intermediary between themselves and the public. The first part of this article, therefore, deals with the subject from inside the office ; the second part, first, by a working staff journalist, and second by a practising free-lance, is a guide to the free-lance over the arduous, but always interesting, ways of outside journalism.

PRACTICAL journalism means getting your work into a newspaper and being paid for it, whether as a full-time professional journalist or as a spare-time occasional contributor. In neither case is it such easy money as it looks. Of all the ways to earn a living open to the man or woman with a knowledge of the English language for stock-in-trade, there is probably none which makes a wider or a more illusory appeal than journalism. One man envisages himself as a political leader-writer, swaying Empires with his pen ; another is dazzled by the industriously sustained legend of the glamour of Fleet Street—the street of the crack descriptive writers and of world-beating “scoops.” More, I think, are attracted by the idea of a life spent in writing. They are fond of books. They have felt the urge to write—have written, perhaps, short stories, poetry, essays, or reviews, and nothing seems more agreeable than the prospect of earning a living in the same way. Well, it is not all illusion. The jobs are there—all of them. There are influential leader-writers, there are “star” reporters, there are critics and reviewers, and generally literary men ; and theirs is a good life. But there are not many of them.

If ever you think of trying journalism, do a little arithmetic first. It is not a very big profession. There are no certain means of knowing how many journalists there are. I should say, at a guess, rather more than 7500 altogether. The National Union of Journalists has about 5500 members. The Institute of Journalists has about 1700 members, but some of these are also members of the N.U.J. too, and must not be counted twice. Then there are some, but not a great many, who

belong to neither body. If you assume a total of 7500 you will not be far out.

Nearly half of them work for local papers. For this job the main qualifications are good shorthand, local knowledge, and common sense. A profound knowledge of the English tongue is not an impediment, but some people seem able to get by without it, and a knowledge of the points of sheep is perhaps equally useful. The weekly papers have often been called the "backbone" of British journalism. If I dispute that title, it is not because I am lacking in respect for them. Many of the local weeklies are first class in their own line. But it is their own line, and so different from that of, say, a "national" daily or a big provincial evening paper, that I do not see how one can be called the backbone of the other. The bones belong to different animals.

HOW THE JOURNALISTS ARE DISTRIBUTED

THERE are about ninety evening papers published outside London. These will employ in all about 1500 journalists. But there is a certain amount of doubling with the weekly paper men—that is, in some fairly big towns, the same firm brings out both a weekly and an evening paper, and the same men work for both. Blackpool is a good example; *The Blackpool Weekly Gazette* and *The West Lancashire Evening Gazette* are published from the same office and produced by more or less the same staff. The evening paper men are nearly all either reporters or sub-editors, in the proportion of, say, three reporters to two "subs," the latter being the "inside" men who prepare copy for the compositors. And here, too, a specialist element begins to come in—sports-writers, and commercial men, and a leader-writer.

The morning papers published outside London are about thirty in number and employ probably about a thousand men. Most of them have larger staffs than the evening papers, and use more specialists; there may be three or more leader-writers, full-time literary, dramatic, film, or music critics. Moreover, the morning papers take more from outside contributors and from regulars who write periodically on particular topics—for instance, natural history, bridge, or motoring.

The London papers are a large and highly various group. There are the four "nationals" which publish both in London and in the North—*The Herald*, *The Mail*, *The Express*, and *The News-Chronicle*; the three big London dailies—*The Times*, *The Daily Telegraph*, and *The Morning Post*; and the three London evenings. There are *The Financial Times* and *The Financial News*, both ranking as first-class dailies; *The Sportsman* and *Sporting Life*, which are on a similar scale, and the Sunday papers. They employ, perhaps, a thousand men between them, and naturally there is a much higher degree of specialisation. They have also considerable staffs of foreign correspondents, which very few provincial papers have.

There remain two groups—the trade papers and the periodicals. The trade papers are a large, wealthy, and important class. Nearly all of them are published in London, but there are a few exceptions. The textile weeklies, for instance, are published in Manchester, and

there is a woollen trade weekly in Bradford. The staffs of these papers have, naturally, to be authorities on the particular industries with which they are concerned; a general knowledge of journalistic work is not enough, though sometimes a trade paper takes on an experienced journalist with no knowledge of the trade, thinking it easier to teach him the rudiments of the business than to teach a technical man the rudiments of journalism. The "periodical" group includes anything from *The Economist* and *The New Statesman and Nation* to *Tit-bits* and *Betty's Paper*. Most of these papers have very small permanent staffs, and depend largely on outside contributors for their material.

I have made this preliminary survey rather long, because if you are thinking of going into journalism, in one form or another, it is just as well to know more or less what jobs there are to be had in each category. Generally speaking, the more attractive a job is to the literary-minded layman, the more difficult it is to obtain, not only because there are so many people after it, but because there are so few jobs of the kind.

FINDING A WAY INTO JOURNALISM

I SPOKE of "going into journalism." How do most people go into it? There is no orthodox way of becoming a journalist. Taking the Press as a whole, there are probably more people who have come in as telephonists than through any other channel; but even they are not in a clear majority. All daily papers, morning and evening, employ telephonists, usually youths of eighteen to twenty—some of them rather older—to take down in shorthand the telephone messages of district correspondents or of reporters out of town and to transcribe them on the typewriter. After a man has worked for a few years in the telephone-room he has acquired two qualities which commend him as a reporter—shorthand, and a good idea of how a newspaper office works. Until the slump years, 1930-33, a telephonist could be pretty sure to get a job as a junior reporter and so work up. In the last few years, employers everywhere have been reducing staffs and not filling vacancies if they could avoid it, so the channels of recruitment have run dry. But things are now beginning to improve a little. Many people, however, get a start as reporters without going through the telephone-room. To have an uncle who is an old friend of the proprietor's may be an advantage, but a general alertness and anxiety to learn all there is to know is the best way to turn a trial into an engagement.

There are various courses in journalism. That at London University commands respect. The others may or may not give useful instruction in writing, but they carry little weight with editors. They are more likely to be helpful to the casual contributor than to the man after a staff job.

It is rare for a sub-editor to begin as a sub-editor. As a rule, a "sub" is an ex-reporter who has "gone inside," because the pay was better or there was more security. The work is less attractive, though equally skilled. It may be possible eventually to work oneself into a staff job by dint of sending in casual contributions over a period of years; but this is exceedingly rare and is perhaps the least promising avenue.

THE MAN WITH THE NOTEBOOK

A REPORTER is, by definition, a man who "brings something back." He goes out of the office and comes back bringing something with him which wasn't there before. That is what the word means, "re-port," "carry back." A man can sit in the office writing reams of descriptive stuff out of his head; he can go out and walk about all day with his eyes half shut and his ears half closed and write pretty well the same stuff which he could have written if he had never stirred from his desk. There are plenty of people doing that, and getting their names into black letters—"bold type" is the newspaper term—at the top of the column. But that isn't reporting. That's just padding. Some of the poorer weekly papers allow it because it fills space cheaply; and some of the big dailies allow it because they are turned out in such a hurry that they haven't always time to sift the wheat from the chaff. But the fact remains. It isn't reporting, and a man who constantly does it is a bad reporter, whoever he works for, and however large his name is printed. Reporting is by no means so easy a matter.

It is essential for the reporter to get into immediate contact with life. The closer he can get to his material the better. The full impact of the facts must come upon him, and it is his work to transmute them into words which still carry in themselves, as far as possible, the lingering imprint of actuality. I don't mean that he should write what are commonly called "personal impressions," which are as a rule far too "personal" and have far too little "impression" about them—which are vitiated by a subjective attitude to things, while a reporter's attitude should always be objective. Nor, on the other hand, does the word "objective" imply any shade of aloofness or indifference. It is the reporter's duty to fling himself whole-heartedly into the pursuit of facts—whether these facts are, in the particular case, spoken words, or things seen, or statistics—and "bring 'em back alive."

THE VALUE OF REPORTING "WORD FOR WORD"

I THINK this general maxim is true of all kinds of reporting, from the descriptive "special" to the verbatim note. There is not so much verbatim reporting of speeches in the daily papers as there used to be, though of course it is still the stock-in-trade of the local weeklies. I suspect that in dropping it the dailies have lost something more than they know. The trouble is, of course, that it takes up so much space, and space is always precious. But a good speech reported verbatim usually makes much better reading than the same speech summarised, and is worth its place on occasion. Nobody would suggest going back to the style of the 1890's, when you would see four columns of solid minion (that is, a rather small type without spaces between the lines) with a single headline in small capitals—"Mr. Gladstone at York," or words to that effect, and not a cross heading in the whole four columns. But there are times when a man who can speak really well visits a provincial town and makes a first-class speech there; and then the local

morning paper, if there is one, rightly gives him a verbatim report. This is, however, a rare occasion.

But if the newspapers have lost something in the verbatim report, I am sure that the craft of journalism has lost a good deal more. Verbatim reporting for a weekly paper is just a slog. One man goes on taking notes for an hour or more on end, and then goes on transcribing them for hours more. There is no fun to be got out of that. But a verbatim for a daily paper is a very different matter, especially if it is wanted for all editions. It is a rush job calling for a high degree of skill—something one can take a real pride in. The manner of it is—or used to be—this.

You have a “ring.” The orthodox “ring” is five men and a timekeeper. The five men are all expert shorthand writers. The speaker begins his speech, and one of the five (say A) begins to write. When he has been taking notes for, say, three minutes, the timekeeper signals to A to stop, and to B to begin taking notes; A at once begins to transcribe what he has taken. After another three minutes C comes in, and B begins to transcribe, and so on, so that A has just finished transcribing and is ready to take notes again when E is finishing his “take.” And so they continue until the speech is ended.

Meanwhile the timekeeper collects the transcriptions as they come, runs quickly through them to see that they are legible, and no words missing, and gets them—no small feat sometimes—into the right order; and a relay of messengers carry the bundles of copy away to the office. With a good ring you may have the speaker’s last words in the office ten minutes or so after he has sat down. That is a job worth doing—a job at very high pressure for a comparatively short time; even the hardened old hands get excited over it. There was a famous Manchester reporter who used to say with zest: “We will report him verbatim, literatim, and punctuatim” (word for word, letter for letter, and stop for stop).

DO REPORTERS NEED SHORTHAND?

I HAVE dwelt on the subject of verbatim reporting because you so often hear it said nowadays: “Oh, you don’t need shorthand to be a reporter.” How far is this true? Of course, in a sense, you don’t need anything to be a reporter. If your employer is tolerant enough, you may pass muster without any qualifications at all, and your unhappy colleagues will have to do the donkey work. But your employer is a fool if he lets you “get away with it,” for it puts a stringent limit on the work which you may safely be set to do. Even on a daily paper, where verbatim reporting is comparatively rare, occasions often arise when you must be ready to take at least a paragraph or two verbatim, when the whole point of the story is in the precise words which the man used. This is particularly true if they are words which he might wish to deny afterwards.

But quite apart from this precautionary consideration, it makes all the difference to the life and style of your report of a speech if it incorporates as much as possible of the man’s own words. Anyone

with a tolerably alert mind can summarise the content of a speech without taking a note of it at all, or just taking a few notes in longhand to aid his memory, and his report may be a perfectly fair representation of what the speaker said. But it will not have anything like the same liveliness and force as a report which, while summarising, retains the speaker's actual phrases and turns of speech.

There are a few reporters whose other qualities are so remarkable that they are worth their place, without shorthand, on a daily paper. But they would be still better with it. For service on a weekly paper, of course, good shorthand is essential. Half the paper will consist of speeches or meetings reported at length, if not actually verbatim.

THE ART OF TRANSMITTING IMPRESSIONS

TO pass from the reporting of speeches to the more showy art of descriptive reporting, we find that the fundamental principle of "bringing back" something applies even more closely. A descriptive report is not a "set-piece" designed to show the rhetorical powers of the writer. It is an account of an event, or series of events, by someone who has seen it; and the best account is that which brings in the most striking or interesting facts—facts which could only be known to an eye-witness. The more intelligent and alert the witness, the more interesting things he is likely to notice.

Descriptive reporting is the great opportunity for the use of what artists call "significant detail." It affords much more scope and freedom to the writer than any other form of reporting, because each man will observe and be impressed by different things. But many descriptive reports are spoiled by pushing this freedom too far, by obtruding irrelevant personal reflections, or distorting one's genuine impressions by a tortured seeking after some "new angle." Another common defect, especially in descriptions of important events, is a grandiose introductory paragraph, which could have been written at home a week in advance. A few sub-editors are guilty of tacking such paragraphs on to perfectly genuine reports; it gives them something to set in black type at the top of the column. This is a stupid departure from sound principle.

TELLING THE PUBLIC WHAT HAS HAPPENED

THE ordinary "news story" is distinct from the "descriptive story," because it is, in the main, not the first-hand product of an eye-witness. (There is, of course, a point at which they can hardly be distinguished from each other.) The term "news story" covers a very wide field—anything from a fire or a railway smash to a by-election may be said to fall within it. The essence of it is that something has happened, and people want to know what. It is no use relying on one's eyesight for a news story. The required quality is that of finding the right man to give information and asking the right questions, until the possibilities of the subject are exhausted; you never know that the really significant fact is not just round the corner.

The actual writing of a news story is a knack which some people never seem to learn. The old saying, "Put the point of the story into the first paragraph" is an over-simplification; it begs the question: "What is the point of the story?" You are not even safe in saying: "A death, if there is one," though this is good enough in most cases. For instance, it is a sound lead to say:

"Two men were killed, and three seriously injured, when a corporation bus crashed into a brewer's dray at — yesterday."

But I would write:

"The worst floods seen in Teesdale for twenty years drowned two men and swept away three bridges . . ."

because floods on a serious scale are even more uncommon than sudden deaths. Accidents to buses, on the other hand, are fairly common, and interesting therefore only in regard to their effects.

But it would be ridiculous to try and lay down any definite "rules of procedure," for one man may be struck with one point in the story, and one by another, and each will, quite properly, open in his own way. The one thing you must not do is to begin, "The sky was blue, and the fields a brilliant green, when . . .," unless the point of the story is to contrast the weather on this occasion with a previous thunderstorm, which is an unlikely topic; or "Women wept and children cried when . . ."—a distressingly common opening. This is just as much as to say: "Look out for a bit of pathos here," as if the writer distrusted his own powers of "putting it across."

WHY A STORY SHOULD START ON "THE TOP NOTE"

THE maxim "first things first" does not apply only to the opening paragraph, but to the whole. As at the dinner-parties in Galilee, you must give them "first the good wine and afterwards that which is less good." Do not hold up your best line for the last paragraph. There is a technical reason for this. The news value of any item is relative; it depends on the other news of the same day. The length which can be given to a story varies not only from day to day but from edition to edition, as further news comes in. It is often necessary to "cut" a story at the last minute. To cut odd words or lines, even if superfluous to the sense, involves re-setting the type, but to cut a whole paragraph from the middle probably breaks the continuity of the story. To knock off the last paragraph or two is technically the easiest way, and does the minimum damage to a rightly written story.

In reporting meetings, some papers like a striking sentence brought up to the top, as, for instance:

"'An ant-heap is the Socialist State, *in excelsis*,' said Dean Inge, lecturing at Oxford yesterday.'"

This is not a bad idea, but only if the opening sentence strikes the keynote of the whole report. If it does not, the "bright" opening sentence

is an irrelevant excrescence, which misleads the reader. Sometimes, too, it tempts the sub-editor to throw away the rest of the report which fails to live up to its introduction. The classic instance is the evening paper report of the local Diocesan Conference—

“ ‘When eating herrings, I prefer hard roes to soft,’ said the Bishop of —, speaking yesterday at the — Diocesan Conference ”

—and that was all.

PERSUADING THE INFORMANT TO TALK

I WILL barely mention two of the most interesting forms of reporting —interviewing, and what I may call original investigation. It needs some skill to interview a man—not simply to take a statement from him on a given subject, but to get him talking freely and interestingly at large. It needs an acute and sympathetic personality, a knack of guiding the conversation in promising directions, while doing little of the actual talking, and an unusually accurate memory, for few people will talk freely while one is taking notes of their conversation.

By “original investigation” I mean this. An editor says: “They say that the water shortage is very bad in this part of the world. I want the truth, and what is going to be done about it, in three articles of a thousand words each. Go along and get them.” There are not many papers doing this kind of thing, which is a pity, because people will read it with great interest, especially if it has local application, conscious that they are getting the real stuff, the raw material of policy. One cannot exactly call it “news” because it does not turn on any specific event, and therefore those overridden with the “news” complex tend to overlook it. They are wrong, for it is one of the essential functions of a newspaper.

There is one more thing to be said before I leave the fertile field of reporting. Some people may assume from what I have written that it does not much matter whether a reporter can write good English or not. And indeed there are some authorities who say that a good reporter can be quite illiterate so long as he “gets the news,” and they cite the case of American reporters who never go into the office to write a line, but stay out on their beat, and telephone what they get to a “re-write man” inside. This may pass muster for the small jobs which need only a bald statement or two, but it is fatal to a big story, because it means that the story as it finally appears is necessarily told at second-hand—it loses that touch of actuality which is the mark of all good reporting.

If a man is an incompetent writer, either someone else has to re-write his “copy,” so that it is no longer a first-hand impression, or, if he writes it clumsily himself, the impression arrives blurred and distorted by his deficient expression. It is no good “getting the news” if you can’t pass a hundred per cent. of it on to other people. Therefore, whatever other qualities a reporter must have, this too must be added—the ability to write clearly, forcefully, and concisely.

IN THE SUB-EDITOR'S ROOM

THE sub-editor's room is the hub of a newspaper office. I must, therefore, say a little about it here, although, as a sub-editor's is not a "writing" job, it does not come so directly within the scope of this article as a reporter's.

Classifying copy by source and not by subject, one can distinguish five kinds. There is "supplied copy"—that is, copy sent in by the persons responsible for it, as, for instance, a Government Report. There is "staff copy," that is, copy written by members of the staff, and mostly in the office. There is "correspondents' copy," sent in by the paper's regular correspondents in various towns and neighbouring villages—probably men on the local weekly papers, or free-lances established in a particular district—by wire, telephone, or train parcel. There is "agency copy," sent in by the great agencies—*The Press Association*, *Exchange Telegraph*, and *Central News*—and by the foreign agencies, like *Reuter's* and *British United Press*. And there is "contributor's copy," sent in by people who are not regular correspondents of the paper, but who are either experts in some field, writing on their own subject, or casual contributors to the "magazine" pages of the paper—the literary page, woman's page, etc.

From all these sources there comes, on all nights, far more material than would fill any paper that the machines could print. Nor would anyone want to read it. All this great stream of copy is swallowed and digested by sub-editors of one sort or another. The sub-editors decide, with regard to any piece of news, first, whether it is to go in at all; how much of it; with what headlines; in what type; on what page, and in what position on the page. Not only this, but they have got to check, as far as they can, the accuracy of names, dates, etc., on which the writer might be mistaken, and to guard the paper against slipshod writing and against anything which might be interpreted as libellous. (Most libels are accidents, not deliberate attacks on character.) Moreover, they have to do it at high speed.

There are specialists for various subjects—foreign subs, commercial subs (for market reports, financial news, etc.), sports subs. Those who deal with the magazine side of the paper are sometimes dignified with the name of "feature editors," but they are "subs" in essence.

THE ARTIST WITH THE BLUE PENCIL

A SUB-EDITOR is a builder with other men's bricks. He may never write a line—except a headline—all night. If he does, it is to straighten out or summarise what cannot conveniently be cut. He works, in the main, by excision. It is he who puts the polish, as it were, on the paper. We have learned, from Eisenstein and Pudovkin particularly, the science of film cutting—giving to each "shot" the precise length of time which will compose it most effectively in the picture. It has been said that, in Eisenstein's pictures, the whole art is in the cutting; the reels of negative are only so much raw material.

The sub-editor, like the film cutter, is creative in effect, though destructive in technique. He gives to things their relative importance, not only by the amount of space allotted to them, but by the devices of black type, bold headlines, inset pictures, ruled borders, etc. Some papers, especially "nationals," attach enormous importance to this form of display, and consider the visible appearance of the page quite as important as the emphasis put upon the various items of news, and even go so far as to design the "make-up" of the principal pages beforehand, without reference to the news at all, even to such details as arranging that the fifth column shall be broken two-thirds of the way down by a half-column block (that is, a small picture half the width of a column). When the news arrives, it has to fit as best it can into this bed of Procrustes.

Writing headlines is an acquired art. The English headline does not, as a rule, try to tell the story as French and American headlines do; it simply puts a label on it. The principle is, the shorter and simpler the line the larger type it can go in; conversely, the larger the type determined upon, the shorter the label must be. This need has led to the reintroduction of many words which had fallen into disuse, such as "pact" and "ban," instead of "agreement" and "prohibit."

Some people may think that this is doing the English language good. The disadvantage is that short, convenient words get used too often when they do not quite fit the meaning—not that headlines are capable of fine shades at any time. It is hard enough to find words which fill the right space and convey the right sense, without refinement. The first half-dozen come easily, but try writing headlines every few minutes for four or five hours at a stretch; unless you are a hard case, you will find it an exasperating business.

Do not confuse a sub-editor with an assistant editor (who is a "big shot"), or with the head of a department in a newspaper. Sub-editing is a job on its own. It is the most technical of all the newspaper jobs, and for that reason it is rare for a man to become a sub-editor without previous newspaper experience. The question, how to become a sub-editor, does not therefore arise.

ENGLISH THE SUB-EDITOR'S FAITHFUL ALLY

WHAT knowledge of the English language does the sub-editor need? He does not have to write. Nevertheless, he must have a thorough mastery of right usage. He must be able to spot at once an idiom which jars, or a sentence which the ordinary reader will find obscure or ambiguous, and it is his right and his duty to re-shape it. He must be able to snatch at once the essential point in a tangle of verbiage, and bring it out quickly and cleanly. If all reporters were perfect, there would be no need to re-write; but many reporters are far from perfect, and sometimes a sub-editor must re-write a story from beginning to end, trimming it of its superfluities and extravagances. Still more important, he has often to write a continuous narrative from a number of different or fragmentary reports sent in. In short, I would say that there is no department in a newspaper office in which a real knowledge

of and feeling for the English language will make more difference to the published paper.

The most common fault with sub-editors is that they allow themselves to be overworked ; that is, they work at too high pressure, and have not the time to think over what goes in. When you compare a sub-editor's wages with the total cost of producing a newspaper, you may feel that to economise on "subs" is to spoil the ship for a ha'porth of tar. It is ; but few newspaper proprietors have been sub-editors.

THE REST OF THE STAFF : JOBS FOR THE SPECIALIST

AMONG the supernumeraries of a newspaper office, one may consider leader-writers, critics of various kinds, and specialists in sport, finance, and so on. There are also editors ; but these are a law unto themselves. They all work differently, and it is no good trying to say what they do, because no two of them do the same thing. My own prejudice is that editors ought not to do anything at all, but confine themselves to seeing that other people work. But most of them feel lonely, and cannot resist putting an oar in sometimes ; and nearly all of them contrive to work very hard indeed at something.

Perhaps I should mention also foreign correspondents in this section, although they are not actually "in the office." Theirs is a distinct and difficult job. There are not many of them ; only the biggest papers, and the news agencies, employ full-time men even in the chief capitals. The American papers, as a rule, pay more attention to foreign news than ours do ; they have, of course, more room for it, being bulkier than ours. American papers normally have much more news about England than English papers have about the U.S.A. There is a technical reason for this—the difference in time between London and New York. When it is 10 p.m. in London it is 4 p.m. in New York, and only 3 p.m. in Chicago ; so news from America is usually either incomplete or late. On the other hand, when we in this country are going to bed, the American editor is just beginning to say : "What's the news to-night ?"

The art of foreign correspondence is to combine the reporter's flair for news and capacity for concise description with a solid understanding of the politics and economics of the country concerned. It is a delicate job because one is dealing largely with people in important positions to whom it matters a great deal what is said about them in the papers ; it is occasionally a dangerous one, because one is bound sometimes to cut across that strangest and most inflammable of passions—nationalism.

THE LEADER HOLDS ITS OWN

SOME people say that the leader-writer has had his day, and indeed there are papers which relegate the expression of editorial policy to an obscure and ignoble corner of the page to which it gives its name. They are wrong. The leader was never as dead as they thought, and to-day, when the "national" papers are all highly political in outlook, it is established as a vital part of daily journalism.

With the big papers outside London, like *The Yorkshire Post*, *The*

Birmingham Post, *The Manchester Guardian*, or *The Glasgow Herald*, what one may call the *Times* tradition has been followed throughout—that is, a “long leader” of about a thousand words as the principal topic, followed by one or more short leaders on less important events. In the smaller and less sedate papers, the long leader is reduced to about four hundred words, and the supporting “shorts” are mere footnotes. A few evening papers take great pains with their leaders, which are skilfully if not profoundly written, but many content themselves with a bald paraphrase of what has appeared that morning in some daily of repute. On the weekly papers leaders are usually written by the editor, and those on local subjects are often exceedingly acute and pithy.

The editor of a daily paper may, and sometimes does, write leaders. But in the nature of things he cannot write them all, and all dailies have one or more men whose principal work is writing leaders. Very few have enough leader-writers to make it possible for them to specialise—*The Times* and *The Manchester Guardian* probably go farther than any others in this respect. In most cases the leader is supposed to convey the opinion not of an expert, but of an intelligent and knowledgeable layman, who looks on the news from a given angle, determined by the policy of the paper. His duty is to size up the events of the day and see how they fit into the general framework of policy. He gives his readers the background which they need for the interpretation of the facts; he draws the moral which the facts reinforce.

I do not suppose that many readers are actually converted to a change of view solely by the persuasion or the exhortation, as the case may be, of a leader-writer. But I do believe that the degree of conviction with which a man holds his views, and consequently the lengths to which he will go to uphold them, and his influence thereby among his fellow-men, are enormously enhanced by good leader-writing. It is the same with sermons; not many men have been persuaded by sermons to become Christians, but many have been far better Christians for listening to good sermons. *The Morning Post*, for instance, is noted for its excellent leaders. They are not written to persuade. Far from converting opponents, they usually rouse to fury anyone who is not already a confirmed Tory. But they succeed wonderfully well in their object of keeping the Tories in good heart.

HOW THE LEADER-WRITER SCORES HIS POINTS

OF the qualities required by a leader-writer, a mastery of English is paramount. He works in the vein of rhetoric—not the blowsy and overblown circumlocutions which were in fashion a century ago, but a curt, clear, incisive rhetoric which scores the maximum of points in the minimum of space.

He must be almost as quick-witted as a barrister, for he will have to write—and not only write, but express a decided opinion without leaving any obvious loophole for contradiction—on subjects which are not always familiar. (Many eminent lawyers have been leader-writers in their time.) No doubt it would be better, from the social point of view, if leader-writers were leisurely persons who could take twenty-four hours

to think over their subject and produce a considered and impartial verdict on it ; and some of the big American papers—such as *The New York Times* and *The Baltimore Sun*—arrange for this, and their leaders are mostly on the previous day's news. But in this country promptness is preferred to profundity.

Nevertheless, a leader-writer must have a pretty good general knowledge of politics and economics. There are not the same technical qualifications required as for reporting or sub-editing, and consequently one may be able, without previous experience, to get a position as a leader-writer which one could not get as a reporter, and certainly not as a sub-editor, on a paper of equal standing. But the qualities (as distinct from acquired qualifications) needed are such that there is never a superfluity of capable leader-writers.

THE SPORTS WRITER'S DOUBLE LIFE

SPORTS writers are reporters of a kind, but of a particular kind. They lead a double life, accommodating themselves to the weekly tides of sport. On Saturdays they are all out on the football or the cricket field ; on Sundays they are busy sub-editing and digesting the huge masses of Saturday's sport. Through the week, the jam is spread thinner ; one man will be working outside, one inside, and a third off duty. The great disadvantage of being a sporting journalist is that you are, inevitably, working all of every week-end.

When you read a report of a football match in most papers, you think : " This is very simple stuff. Almost anyone could do this." And often indeed it is simple stuff, straightforwardly and even banally put. But it is not so easy as it looks. Sports reporting demands, even more than any other form of journalism, extreme accuracy in detail. This is extremely hard to get. Watch a football match, and write four or five hundred words about it ; then read it through and ask yourself if you are absolutely sure of everything in it. You are a rare bird if you are. To watch the game for an hour and miss nothing, not only to have seen the moves of the game but to have understood them, to remember not only who shot the winning goal but who started the movement which led up to it—this demands a degree of concentration which does not come without practice.

A good " inside " knowledge of the game helps, of course, especially with the more fast-moving games, like hockey or lacrosse ; and in this department alone, perhaps, of all journalism, a knowledge of the subject is more important than ability to write fluently about it. The sporting public wants facts raw ; no cooking can conceal the mistakes from them. There is a distinct opening, even on fairly big papers, for men who know the various sports well, even though they have no previous experience of journalism. That does not mean that they have nothing to learn ; but there is nothing which they cannot be taught pretty quickly. On the other hand, it is a gruelling and not very attractive job.

Besides those who describe sporting events, there is, of course, the legion of racing tipsters who, in their own opinion at any rate, do more to promote the circulation of their paper than the rest of the staff rolled

into one. I cannot find it in my heart to call them journalists, for to write : "Judge's Nap, Fifinella," requires no mastery of the English language, though it does require great shrewdness and learning. So no more of them here.

HOW THE REVIEWERS WORK

THEN there is the army of reviewers, music critics, dramatic critics, film critics, art critics, radio critics, and so on. It is impossible to say what is a standard outfit of critics for the average newspaper, because every paper has a different arrangement. A provincial newspaper, for instance, for which theatrical "first nights" always fall, two or three together, on a Monday, must obviously have several men at the theatre that night, and doing something else for the rest of the week ; a London paper, on the other hand, can keep one man going all the time, because managers take great care to keep "first nights" from clashing. *The Times* has two full-time dramatic critics.

Music spreads itself out over the week, and is therefore more easily dealt with by one man, and many of the big provincial papers have a full-time music critic. I can hardly discuss the art of music criticism here, partly because it is one of the few things I have never even attempted, and partly because the qualifications for it are so largely technical rather than journalistic. A point of importance is that the music critic is writing primarily for readers who know a good deal about music, whereas a film critic, for instance, is writing primarily for people who do not know much about the business of producing films, and do not want to know. The trouble with film criticism is that it is too liable to develop into mere gossip, because a large section of the film-going public is more interested in the personalities of the players than in the art of the screen.

WHAT THE DRAMATIC CRITIC MUST KNOW

THE dramatic critic (I have never understood why one does not say "drama critic"—the critic himself is rarely dramatic) is in an intermediate position. His readers do take an interest in the play as distinct from the players. A dramatic critic who takes his job at all seriously has his work cut out. He has not simply to go to plays and write about them. Any reporter can do that. He must be erudite in the history of the stage. He must be widely read in the dramatic literature of many ages and of many countries. He must keep abreast of, and understand if he cannot appreciate, the contemporary currents of theory and practice. He must have seen and remembered many players, and not allowed their glamour to dazzle him.

I have never seen Elizabeth Bergner act. I am ready to believe that she is an actress of the first rank. But I did admire the refusal of James Agate of *The Sunday Times* to call her a "great" actress after seeing her in one part specially written for her. It put him at odds with a whole host of his colleagues, who had proclaimed the "greatness" of Bergner without hesitation. Agate did not deny that Bergner was a great actress ; he said expressly that nothing in the one performance

he had seen was incompatible with greatness. When he had seen her in a few more exacting parts—such as Lady Macbeth, Hedda Gabler, and Phèdre—he would be prepared to say whether he thought her a great actress or not.

I feel that he was absolutely right. He was not criticising Elizabeth Bergner; he was criticising his fellow-critics. He, almost alone, was taking his profession with proper seriousness. I admire his stand the more, because I myself have been guilty of this very fault—"plumping" for an actress on the strength of one performance. There was some excuse. It was Diana Wynyard, who was not so well known then. A reporter (which I was) naturally wants to cry up a discovery; it means that one has obtained an "exclusive" story. But a dramatic critic is a judge, not a detective.

THE DIFFICULT TASK OF THE ART CRITIC

ART critics have a most difficult task. Many newspapers do not take art seriously at all; they treat it as "news" which means that they apply only two criteria to works of art—the date and the price. But even with the papers which do pay some attention to painting and sculpture and so forth, the art critic is nearly always in the position of trying to explain what the painters are about to a public which does not know the first thing about it.

Most newspapers now devote a good deal of space to criticism of and news about wireless programmes, if only because they hope to secure the advertisements of the manufacturers of wireless sets. But one cannot yet say that the job of radio critic has settled down and developed firm outlines. Few radio critics know as much of broadcasting technique as dramatic critics know about theatrical technique. (When I say broadcasting technique, I mean what corresponds to production on the theatre, not simply the physical mechanism of transmission and reception, though I think a radio critic ought to know a good deal about that too.) Besides, there is this air of unreality about it. The man who is writing about plays, books, pictures is writing about things which people may wish to see or read as a result of reading what he has written. But no one can decide to hear a programme after reading what the critic has said. The programme is over then.

THREE WAYS OF DEALING WITH BOOKS

THERE are three ways of dealing with books. One can review them; one can notice them; or one can "gut" them. To "gut" a book is simply to choose a series of extracts, on their news value, for publication in the news columns. It does not call for the exercise of critical faculties. A review is a long and profound analysis of the book, such as one finds in the important weeklies, or in *The Observer* and *The Sunday Times*, or in learned periodicals. The daily papers have not this space to allot to books. Most of them have a "book page" once a week, and get in four columns or so of notices of at least a dozen books. *The Manchester Guardian* reviews more books than any other daily paper;

it notices on an average five or six books a day for five days of the week.

The bulk of book reviewing is done by people who are not on the staff of any newspaper. In most cases it is a side-line. The reviews of many important books (other than fiction) are done by people who are experts in the field concerned. There is, however, a lot of general reviewing, especially on economic and social topics, of which one may do enough to get a living out of it. The work is exacting, almost jading. It is against etiquette to review the same book for several papers, though an unattached reporter may without shame send the same report, word for word, to half a dozen papers. The strain of reading and reviewing half a dozen books a week must be very great : I have not tried it, and cannot speak from experience.

SHOULD A PAPER HAVE A LITERARY POLICY ?

MANY papers have a reviewer of fiction, and send him all the novels which come out, and leave him to make his pick of them and write a weekly article on the lot. This plan has certain advantages ; it saves the Literary Editor a lot of time, and it makes a good readable article. But it has more than equivalent drawbacks. A man who honestly tries to get to the heart of six serious books a week would be a very exceptional person if he did not go mad in a month. Some books will, therefore, get more careful attention than others. Unless, again, the reviewer is an exceptional man, he cannot but have personal prejudices which sway his decision on what books to read most attentively, so that he can hardly help committing the paper as a whole to the support of some particular school of writers. On the other hand, it may be argued that this is right and proper, that every paper is expected to have a political policy, and should also have a literary policy, and that a consistent literary policy is best achieved by entrusting as many books as possible to a reliable partisan. This may be true, but I cannot quite agree with it, and prefer separate reviews for each novel, and each book for that matter, except books published simultaneously on the same subject.

THE ESSENCE OF CRITICISM

FOR all the work which has been touched on during the preceding section, a mastery of the English language is absolutely essential. It is not simply that, in reviewing books, the subject is a literary one ; that is, perhaps, an irrelevant factor. One is trying all the time to convey a purely intellectual content—not a record of facts or impressions, but a comment upon some other man's record. It is more difficult to understand than to see, and what is harder to understand is harder to put into words ; indeed, the two processes may really be the same thing, for thought itself is impossible without the use of words (except in mathematics), and the man who cannot explain a work of art to another has not explained it to himself.

Hence, if you are a person who has mastered this business of understanding and explaining to yourself in intelligible terms what other men

have seen or thought, you will have no great difficulty in adjusting yourself to the particular field in which you wish to work, or in moving from one to another. Was not George Bernard Shaw successively an art critic, a music critic, and a dramatic critic? You have, of course, to learn the technique of the art concerned, and that needs an effort of mind, comparable to that needed in learning shorthand. But if you have not got the critical habit of mind you will never make a critic, either of books or of art or of music or of anything else.

THE CHANCE FOR THE OUTSIDE CONTRIBUTOR

ALL newspapers take a good deal of "copy" from outside contributors, mostly in the way of special articles which are not "news" (because they do not record an actual event which has just happened) though they may be "topical," in the sense that they are more appropriately used on one day than on another. Some papers have a particular "magazine page" or pages for such matter. Others habitually publish one or more special articles on the leader page. Nearly all have a "Woman's page" or "Home page" devoted to such domestic subjects as cooking, dress, gardening, babies. Some run columns of miscellaneous jottings, for which contributions are accepted and paid for, though not published in the contributor's name. The more popular weekly magazines are, of course, largely made up of articles of this kind, usually illustrated.

Although the total amount of "magazine" space in the ordinary daily papers is not very large, it provides more work than one would expect because it is hardly, if at all, syndicated. There are a few evening papers in different parts of the country, and therefore not competing, who use a joint "feature service," and occasionally one finds papers belonging to the same group using the same features. I have, too, been horrified by offers of a complete syndicated service at half a crown an article or thereabouts; from the specimens submitted, it was a fair price, but only the cheaper local weeklies would have looked twice at them.

In the main, however, each paper's "features"—as they call this magazine stuff inside the office—are its own, while a high proportion of its news is from the agencies—a common service sent to all. That is why so much is, in general, accepted from outside contributors.

HOW TO AVOID THE "EDITOR'S REGRETS"

How can one place one's articles with success? There are two well-known rules, which I need only repeat briefly, since they are the theme of every handbook on writing for profit that ever I read. The first is: *Study your market*. The second is: *Keep the article short and clear*.

With regard to the market, what I mean is this. It is no good sending in to a newspaper an article of a kind which they do not use. All papers have, especially on their "magazine page," a normal framework or design, and they are not going to remould their page one day a month to accommodate an article out of the usual form. If a paper normally publishes a special article, in a particular position, of 900 to 1200 words,

it is no earthly use sending them one of 500 or of 2000 words. Yet it is astonishing how often people do this, though one would have thought it the most elementary thing to grasp.

The second warning is primarily for people inclined to fine writing, purple passages, or forced humour. "Short" is, of course, a relative term. There are some things which cannot be done in less than 800 words, and these are the only ones which should have 800 words.

I would add to these two rules a third, and from a practical point of view, a far more important one. *Have a subject.* Better still, have several subjects. I don't mean simply, have a subject for some particular article in question. That goes without saying—though there are people who try to construct a humorous article out of nothing. I mean, get to know a great deal about something, and make that special knowledge your stock-in-trade. It doesn't matter much what it is. It may be birds or botany or motoring or foreign travel or economic history or cooking. What matters is that you should know more about it than the average person, or than the average journalist. Newspapers do not take from outside contributors what they could as easily get done in the office.

I know one man, for instance, who makes a speciality of what one may call political anecdotes. I fancy that he does it on the card index system; gets each new volume of political memoirs out of the library, extracts the most entertaining bits from it and files them for reference. Then out they come as occasion serves. Mr. Neville Chamberlain goes fishing; he looks through his card index and finds a very amusing story about another Chancellor some forty years ago, who went fishing with unusual consequences. Whatever turns up, he has an apposite story, and his contributions are a frequent relief to the harassed compiler of a column of "daily jottings."

SOME FRUITFUL FIELDS FOR THE FREE-LANCE

BIRDS are a very good subject, because there is an infinite amount to be said about them, and most people are interested in birds. A fairly sure draw is a description of places visited in the course of foreign travel, because, *ex hypothesi*, the writer knows more about them than the reader who has not been there. A keen observer can always find matter for an article in some remote and unfamiliar place, even if it is in this country. A disadvantage is, of course, that one has to travel. Stuff dug out of guide-books is no use.

The domesticities are a profitable field for the specialist, because many papers find it hard to fill their "Woman's page" with fresh and interesting copy. It is a field in which women are specialists by second nature, and often write very well, if they can be brought to see that these things are worth writing about at all. I remember a lady once asking me to have a look at a sheaf of her copy, and tell her what it was worth. There were some humorous stories, which were pointless and over-written; there was some literary criticism, commonplace and flat; and there were a lot of short paragraphs about housework and cooking and what sort of flowers will go together in a vase, and so on, which were not only informative but quite well written, concise, lucid, with plenty

of punch and with the points made in the right order. It was simply that she knew her subject and had something to say about it. But she showed me these paragraphs deprecatingly, saying: "Well, they got published, but that's all I can say for them." It was a lot more than she could say for the rest. They were not worth publishing.

In the last year or two there has been an outbreak of articles on walking, camping, scenery, and other delights of the open air. This market is not yet saturated, and the quality of some of the stuff published is not such that it would hold its own against all comers.

If you have not already got a subject, get one. Choose it primarily because you are interested in it yourself. If you study something solely in order to write about it and without being at all interested in it yourself you are unlikely to interest others. When you have had a number of articles on a special subject accepted, it may help to state on the front page of subsequent work that you "have contributed articles on . . . to the following publications. . . ."

I will wind up this section with two purely practical points. (1) You do not need an agent if you are writing for a particular market. If you are just writing what comes into your head, an agent may be able to place it to the best advantage. (2) See that you are properly paid. It is as well to belong to a protective organisation. A professional journalist naturally joins the union. If you are a whole-time journalist, join the Society of Authors, Playwrights, and Composers. They will take in part-time contributors, and are stalwart allies in case of need.

THE FREE-LANCE AT WORK

by F. M. WINTER, B.A.(*Lond.*)

BEFORE the young writer sets out to explore the possibilities of any particular markets he should have some fairly clear idea of what he is aiming at. His early efforts are usually scattered efforts. He tries an article, a short story, a few chapters of a novel, perhaps some verses for children or some hints on how to paint the bathroom. A certain amount of such experimenting is necessary in the beginner, if he is to discover where his best capacities lie; and indeed, what one might call a scrappiness of output continues to be a characteristic of some quite well-known and successful writers. In many cases such work pays, once one has made a name. But there is little doubt that the best way to make a name is to concentrate on one particular form.

But after a certain amount of preliminary experimenting it should be possible for the young writer to make up his mind on the subject of what form of literary or journalistic success is his ultimate aim, and on his best method of getting some kind of financial footing in the writing world. There must be numbers of writers aiming in vain at publications like *The Argosy* or *The Saturday Review* or at novels on morbid themes, who might succeed in making money in popular journalism. And it is certainly true that young writers of real gifts and imagination waste their time, energy, and money trying to sell popular material of the kind that they will never write really well. There are decisions here

that the writer must make according to his circumstances, his temperament, and the opinion of those who matter on his work.

Has he any gift of imagination and creative vision that might justify him in aiming straight away at the markets for work of definite literary value? Has he sufficient faith in his gift and sufficient staying power to keep him on what may prove a difficult and ill-paid path? Or, not possessing these things, has he the sense and courage to admit it to himself and to start along the still difficult but better-paid path of popular journalism? If he is sufficiently free and sufficiently wise to make the choice early, he will save himself much trouble and disappointment and discontent later.

REWARDS OFFERED FOR POETRY

LITERARY success must, at any rate, be well established before one dare abandon the more immediately remunerative work for its sake. If one has acquired the very difficult art of writing first-class magazine short stories, one may count on excellent payment for them. But the better story of a more subtle kind will only sell to magazines which pay low prices. Verse, that first love of so many people of literary ambition, does not, except in unusual circumstances, make money. But because it forms an important part of the secret output of so many very young writers, and because it is only with the greatest difficulty that these young people are persuaded of its comparative uselessness as a financial asset, it should receive a little attention.

Poets, even minor ones, are rare. But it is fairly common for people of imagination and sensitiveness and literary gifts to turn out some quite delightful verses somewhere between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five. The young writer who is tempted to pin much hope to them should make a point of going to libraries and looking through as many periodical publications as he can. He will find that an extraordinarily small amount of space is given to verse, even by those papers or magazines which publish it regularly. The *Observer*, for example, publishes a poem, or perhaps two, each week, but these are usually by established poets.

If the young writer has a gift for the lighter kind of verses with an easy human appeal, and can combine with this gift the capacity to illustrate the verses with really clever pen-and-ink or what are known as wash sketches, there is a more considerable market in the women's magazines, and sometimes, also, in greeting cards of various kinds. But no one should hope to make money from serious verse. A man who has the making of a real poet will go on writing verse, and eventually poetry, in spite of any amount of discouragement, but otherwise this youthful verse-writing is only a symptom. It indicates the presence of mental qualities that may one day lead to the writing of good prose and perhaps of really imaginative literature.

A FEW FACTS ABOUT EDITORS

SOME kind of decision on what type of market one is aiming at should narrow and simplify the actual task of getting to know particular markets. But a general survey of one's own capacities and of the

markets that do exist is an important preliminary step. Some knowledge of the ways of editors and publishers also is essential. For example, the free-lance must realise from the beginning that an editor does not exist to help him in the job of market research that he is capable of doing for himself. An editor's job is to bring out a publication. Comparatively little of his time is devoted to reading the contributions of outside writers. When a contribution is returned to the sender as unsuitable, it is accompanied merely by a printed rejection slip which is the same for everybody.

The editor does not, except in a very few cases indeed, dictate a letter telling one *why* one's effort is considered unsuitable. He has little time for letter-writing, and he knows by experience that a kindly intended note to an unknown author may result in much idle argument, protest, or explanation. It may be that the contribution sent in is not good enough; it may be that it is good enough for some quite different kind of publication but useless to him, or it may be that the subject is suitable, but the article four times too long, or that it is suitable in every way but has arrived at a time when there is no prospect of there being room for it for months to come. Free-lances are apt to forget that editors are constantly up against the fact that the columns of newspapers and magazines are inelastic.

I have occasionally known an editor take the trouble to send a letter, sometimes containing the most helpful criticism, in returning a contribution that may have seemed to him particularly good, though unsuitable, or particularly promising, though immature. But neither editors nor publishers should be asked, in letters accompanying contributions, to do things like that. It is a writer's business to start with a certain knowledge of his markets, and to increase it as he goes on.

A GUIDE TO MARKETS

THE first step should be to consult a journalistic guide, such as *The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book*. This is brought up to date and republished every year very cheaply. It gives the most valuable preliminary survey of all kinds of publications, indicating whether they are published daily, weekly, monthly, or quarterly, the kind of material which each is prepared to consider from outside contributors, the rough limits of length that should be observed, and in many instances the rate and method of payment to be expected. It is best to go through such a guide carefully, marking the publications for which the kind of material one is writing appears to be suitable.

The information given may in certain cases be sufficiently clear and full to encourage one to send a contribution without any further investigation. But in most cases this studying of journalistic guides should be followed by a study of the suitable publications themselves. Only this kind of research will indicate the nature of the subjects preferred, and the treatment which appears to be acceptable. The guide may state, for example, that a certain newspaper will consider leader-page articles appealing to women readers. But only a study of that particular newspaper over a period of some weeks at least will make it clear if the women readers are to be appealed to on serious lines or with a lighter touch.

Perhaps the articles should be of a controversial type which a woman might discuss with her husband or her friends or which might induce her to write letters of disagreement to the editor. Perhaps a more successful line would be the sentimental type that will make her feel pleased and important, such as an article on the heroism of motherhood, or the practical type that will give her a little help in some of her many problems. The same course should be followed in the difficult task of selling short stories. Even editors themselves find it difficult to explain just what kinds of story they are most likely to choose. "Just watch the magazine," they will say. Publishers expect one to watch their lists and catalogues, and, as far as fiction at least is concerned, to read a certain number of the books they bring out.

POINTS THAT MAY BE LEARNT FROM ACCEPTANCES

THE young writer must supplement his knowledge of markets gained in these ways by a campaign of experiment—a campaign that must be conducted entirely by post. It should not include calling at random at an editor's office and asking to see him, nor even telephoning and asking for an appointment. Rejections teach one little, but acceptances teach one a great deal. The real significance of the first acceptance does not lie in the cheque. It is important in what it implies for the future. No writer should treat such a portent merely as a reason for self-congratulation. He should at once be up and doing. So far he has known only what certain publications do not like by the contributions which they return to him. Now he knows something at least about what one particular publication does like, and is prepared to buy.

After waiting for what he may judge to be a tactful interval, the length of which must depend of course on the frequency of publication, he should send in another contribution, choosing his subject and his style in the light of what he has learnt. Or in certain cases one acceptance, or perhaps two or three from the same publication, can be followed up by a letter giving several suggestions for further contributions.

The editor concerned knows now that the free-lance can write. (It is sometimes as well to remind editors in an accompanying note that they recently accepted certain contributions, for they have much to remember.) He will be likely to give more attention to a further contribution or to suggestions. After a number of acceptances he will sometimes be prepared to give one a short interview with the object of discussing the kind of work one might continue to do for him. But such interviews should not be suggested too soon. In fact it is often best to keep well in the background while things go well. One must judge from the tone of the editor's correspondence, if any, and take one's chance. Any rare letters from editors or publishers giving kindly criticism should be followed up by a further effort, or at least by a letter of thanks.

SHOULD ARTICLES COME FIRST?

MOST writers' first commercial efforts take the form of articles. Indeed, unless the young writer has an obvious gift for fiction, it is usually his best plan to begin with articles of some kind, for they are easier to

write and easier to sell than short stories or books. The writer who is young in experience is more likely to have good ideas in his mind than he is to have good plots or good themes, or the capacity to create people in whom his readers can believe. Moreover, an inexperienced writer let loose on a short story is apt to let his passion for description run away with him; and if he has plenty of ideas, he is apt to forget now and then that he is writing a story, and to hold up the action while he expresses them.

An experienced journalist once gave an excellent piece of advice to a young writer who was doubtful which market to explore first. It was: "Go on writing articles until you feel you have expressed all the more important, forceful, tangible, expressible, and *saleable* ideas in your mind. Take care to write them well, for you will be learning all the time. Then, when you are tempted to repeat yourself or to become a little less confident of your opinions, when you begin to be aware of subtleties that no amount of 'what I think' will express, that is the time to turn to short stories, or novels." Such a method is better both for the articles one begins by writing, and for the fiction one goes on to write; and though, of course, like other good advice, it should not be applied to every case, in a majority it will be found to work well.

THE WIDER SCOPE OF ARTICLES

ARTICLES, whether practical or theoretical, need a less sustained effort to write than fiction, and they are easier to sell for many reasons. They have, as one of their most important markets, the daily newspaper press all over the country, which can absorb a considerable number of such contributions. The editor of a newspaper is frequently more willing to consider contributions from new and unknown writers than the editor of a magazine. The newspaper circulates to a more varied public, and its editor can accept more varied expressions of opinion and is less loth than the editor of a magazine to publish views that will arouse disagreement and draw protesting letters. The narrower magazine public necessitates a narrower policy.

The saleable "leader-page" article should, in a majority of cases, be of the "what I think" controversial type. It should not express a view that is so generally held as to be taken for granted. On the other hand, it should not express views that will only gain support from about one per cent. of a newspaper's readers. An editor likes an article that is sufficiently controversial to cause a few readers to write him appraising letters and to provoke a few indignant protests.

One is sometimes justified in giving an article a more uncompromising title than the material warrants—one that will startle the majority of readers into paying attention to it. Good titles go a long way towards selling an article. It is of little use to send in an article that is startling and well written under a title that does not tempt anyone to read it. It is always possible that the editor will change the title, but the free-lance must at least think of one that will induce someone in the editor's office to give the article consideration.

There is on many papers an opening for other kinds of article on

the leader-page, as the young writer will soon discover. There are, however, a few things to remember in aiming at this very important page of a newspaper. The length of articles should generally be somewhere between five hundred and a thousand words, and, from an unknown writer, an article stands more chance of acceptance if it is nearer to the five hundred mark.

In choosing subjects it is always wise to avoid politics (there will be people on the editorial staff who know more of this than the free-lance), religion (discussions of this subject are seldom welcomed except from well-known people), or class disputes. The kind of article that describes a personal experience or adventure should not be attempted unless that experience is more or less unique. And it should be realised that whereas the opinions of the unknown writer may be of interest on a controversial topic such as : "Have women any sense of duty?" or : "Why do we dislike the highbrow?" they are of comparatively little importance on any subject on which a specialist of any kind is more entitled to write, and they are of absolutely no value at all on intimate matters of personal behaviour. A famous film star could sell an article on what she eats for breakfast. An unknown free-lance could not.

CHANCES OFFERED BY THE MAGAZINES

The market for magazine articles is very varied, and the choice of subjects therefore wide. But it will be found that the material in any one magazine is generally narrower in scope than that in any one newspaper. This should simplify matters for the free-lance in many ways, and indeed the magazine market might profitably come in for more exploration than it generally receives from the beginner. The competition is not so keen as it is on a newspaper. The editorial staff is usually a little less busy. The editor is frequently more willing to consider series of articles, and a series is a great help and stand-by to the beginner. I remember one unusual series that was particularly successful. It was called "How to Lose." It was lightly satirical and entertaining, but full of wisdom. It contained articles on such subjects as "How to lose your Friends," "How to lose your Husband," "How to lose Money," "How to lose Heart." It succeeded in extending itself for some time beyond the original half-dozen articles that had been commissioned on the strength of a first experimental article. All inexperienced writers should take particular trouble to discover the suitable length for articles for each individual magazine, as this varies much more than in the newspaper press.

WRITING FROM THE WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW

PUBLICATIONS that appeal almost exclusively to women are so numerous and of such importance to the free-lance that it is worth his while to consider them separately. It is a mistake to suppose that contributors to women's magazines are exclusively women. Articles of the controversial type, in particular, are much in demand from men, provided that they deal with subjects of interest and importance to women, and

provided also that, however critical or condemnatory they may be, they are not entirely lacking in sympathy with a woman's point of view. Informative articles of the right kind are welcome from anybody, and a few of the best writers on cookery and handicrafts are men. This kind of publication is, however, the special field of the woman writer, and she will find editors of such magazines as willing as anybody to consider suggestions for series, either on general or on practical subjects.

It should be remembered that women's magazines carry a very considerable number of illustrations, and as far as possible material should be schemed and written with this in mind. An article, either on a general subject or of any practical kind, stands considerably less chance of acceptance if it cannot easily be illustrated by sketches or photographs. The free-lance who can either sketch or take good photographs, or work in conjunction with an artist or a photographer, has an unquestionable advantage here, but the lack of it need deter no one, for some editors even prefer to have material illustrated by their own artists.

There are subjects which are best avoided in sending contributions to a woman's magazine, merely because they are of the kind that are covered by regular contributors. A study of the magazine will soon show what these are, but subjects such as society gossip, cookery, and baby welfare are almost always treated in this way, and beauty culture very frequently.

Advertising is an aspect of newspaper and magazine production with which the free-lance need concern himself very little. But he is to some extent brought into contact with it in contributing to women's magazines, because in such publications the editorial and advertisement departments work in much closer co-operation than on a daily newspaper or on a magazine like *Punch* or *The Strand*. This need only concern the free-lance when he expresses an opinion about any article which might be advertised in the kind of magazine for which he is planning his contribution.

The safest rule is never to condemn any commodity which might conceivably be advertised. Let us assume, for example, that the article is describing a certain kind of needlework. It is easy to fall into the mistake of saying that a certain material is useless for the purpose. The manufacturers of the material may be valued advertisers in that particular magazine, and the free-lance must remember that the revenue of a magazine comes largely from the selling of space for advertisements. The article would be much more likely to be accepted if it said something like: "This design would be quite effective worked in wool on sand serge, but being intricate and essentially dainty it is more successful in stranded cotton thread on fine embroidery linen."

HOW TO SUCCEED WITH THE TRADE PAPER

THESE considerations are even more important in writing for a trade magazine. The market for free-lance contributions in these magazines is in any case very much restricted, but if the writer has sufficient knowledge of a trade to aim at a business publication, he will

have to keep an eye open for any tendency to make statements against the advertising interests.

The trade magazine, though it needs a certain amount at least of specialised knowledge on the part of its contributors, is not a remunerative market. Most of its material is written by its editorial staff. There is a fairly steady but very small demand for articles by experts, but even these will seldom sell for more than three guineas and must be generally quite a thousand words in length. Moreover, from the point of view of a trade magazine, an expert is not someone with an active interest in and sketchy knowledge of the subject. He is, in the building trade for example, either an architect or a consulting engineer, or a well-known decoration artist, or a prominent member of a firm specialising in lighting or heating equipment.

WHERE THE BEGINNER MAY GET ADVICE

THERE will always be people who have ambition yet lack confidence in their ability to teach themselves. For these the school of journalism may in some cases prove a friend and counsellor. Its chief value to the beginner who does not need help with any language difficulties is its value as critic and adviser. To the free-lance who has no writer friend to give him an honest opinion on his work, the school of journalism may supply valuable criticism. It will suggest subjects, if those are his difficulty, and give advice on markets which can be supplemented by the writer's own experience.

The presentation of material is of great importance. Editors and publishers cannot be expected to recognise a masterpiece if it is presented to them like a badly written school essay. All material should be typed or legibly written on quarto paper, on one side only, and a good margin should be allowed on the left-hand side of the page. Articles should be secured with a paper-clip, and it is as well to finish them with a plain piece of paper as a frontispiece, bearing only the title of the article, one's name and address, and the approximate number of words employed. It is an excellent plan to back them with a plain piece of paper as well. Then, if one's article comes back from several offices looking a little the worse for wear, it need not be re-typed completely, but can merely be supplied with new frontispiece and backing.

Manuscripts should, if possible, be secured in a folder to keep them flat, and the longer ones should be divided into sections, with the author's name clearly shown on each separate section. Needless to say, all pages should be numbered. All material should be accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope with the correct amount of postage attached. If a letter is sent as well, this should also be typed, if possible.

HOW TO AVOID BREAKING THE LAW OF LIBEL

AUTHORS, and especially those who are tempted to indulge in what one might call destructive writing, should remember that there is a law of libel in England capable of very wide interpretation. A glance at almost any newspaper or magazine will show to what lengths publishers

are driven in order to avoid a charge of libel. In any account of a crime, for instance, the word "alleged" will occur every two or three lines, even though there can be no reasonable doubt that the statement is true. Again, most short stories, especially those appearing in newspapers, carry a notice in small print, "All Characters fictitious," in order to forestall possible accusation by a prompt denial. The position as regards libel is briefly this: any statement which can be held to be derogatory or harmful to a person, institution, business, etc., can be made the subject of a libel action. The statement need not be untrue for it to constitute a libel. If, for instance, a reporter states that some well-known and highly respected citizen once served three months' hard labour for theft, and proves conclusively the truth of this, his paper might nevertheless be called on to pay heavy damages.

A further point—one which is a danger to every author—is that it is possible to libel a person without intention and without any knowledge at all of the person libelled. If, for instance, a dramatist introduces a character with red hair, one eye, a stutter, and a limp, and makes him out a villain, and a man with these disabilities, thinking he recognises a caricature of himself, chooses to sue the dramatist for libel he need only prove the play has injured his reputation and he stands a good chance of gaining damages.

From this it will be seen that libel is a very easy law to transgress and that its observance necessarily muzzles the author to a considerable extent. Editors and sub-editors naturally keep a close watch for anything which might be construed into libel, but everyone concerned in writing needs to train himself to avoid statements, remarks, or portraits which could be made to fit particular cases. A general attack on the modern girl, for instance, is less likely to cause trouble than a detailed, unfriendly description of a modern girl which might be thought to be aimed at some well-known but not very popular young woman.

MAKING THE MOST OF REJECTED MATERIAL

NEVER, unless storage space fails, should the writer throw away contributions which, for the time being, he cannot sell. He should devise some method of keeping and cataloguing them. Sooner or later he may think of some way of improving them, or some event may give them topicality. He should conscientiously keep cuttings of all the material he has had published. An idea that has sold once may sell again in a different form. Already, of course, in the process of learning how to write, he should have started an ideas' library of his own, consisting of cuttings of anything that strikes his fancy and of his own jottings of the germs and developments of ideas.

The market for free-lance contributions has, like other markets, been somewhat restricted during the last few years. The revenue of papers and magazines has gone down, the fees paid for outside work have to some extent suffered, and more subjects have been covered by members of the editorial staffs. The most usual rate of payment is from two to three guineas a thousand words. It has certainly become more difficult than it once was to rely on free-lance journalism for a living. But as

the beginner is seldom rash enough to do that he need not be unduly depressed. Conditions are improving, and, as they improve, the writer can be quietly building up his technique and increasing his markets. He will himself be able to judge when the time comes for him to join the ranks of professional scribes.

WHAT JOURNALISTS HAVE WRITTEN ABOUT THEIR TRADE

ANYONE interested in free-lancing will find, sooner or later, that an acquaintance with inside journalism is not only interesting in itself but is necessary to avoid needless labour. There are, however, remarkably few books worth reading on the subject. Sir Alfred Robbins did a book on *The Press*, but this is mostly historical, and however interesting the newspapers of the nineteenth century may have been, their history throws little light on journalism to-day. G. B. Dibblee has an excellent little book, *The Newspaper*, in the Home University Library; but it was written some time ago.

A very informative book is W. Hutcheon's *Gentlemen of the Press*; the author was a sub-editor on several big dailies, and night editor of *The Morning Post* for many years, and he knows what he is talking about. On the technical side, F. J. Mansfield's *Sub-editing* is important. But Mansfield is a *Times* man, and the sub-editorial staff of *The Times* is bigger than that of other papers and therefore does not work at quite such high pressure; so the book contains some counsels of perfection. A useful little book is W. V. Noble's *Interviewing*, published by Isaac Pitman; the author has worked for two big Northern evening papers, and knows all the tricks of his trade.

There are a considerable number of books which aim at helping the free-lance writer, apart from the acknowledged textbooks such as *The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book*. These aim more generally at telling him how to write the kind of articles and stories which are likely to sell than at assisting him in the actual business of selling. But some of them are full of the most valuable advice from experienced journalists or publishers or literary agents who are in a position to judge the nature of the mistakes made by the beginner trying to get into print. Two very helpful and very readable books of this kind are written by Michael Joseph, one entitled *Short Story-Writing for Profit*, and the other *The Commercial Side of Literature*.

There is much indirect value to be obtained from any books by well-known journalists and writers about their careers and about the inner workings of great newspaper and publishing offices. The free-lance who has never had any experience of such an organisation lacks something which may be of great value to him in his work. He will approach the business of writing for the public in a different spirit after reading such a book, for example, as Tom Clarke's *My Northcliffe Diary*. Two publications that every journalist should read are *The World's Press News* and *The Newspaper World*. They are intended to keep writers *au fait* with all that is going on in the various departments of journalism.

THE AUTHOR IN THE MAKING: SHORT STORIES AND BOOKS

by WYNARD BROWNE

DR. JOHNSON'S assertion that only a fool would write books for the love of writing them needs qualification. An artist would do so. But few of us have strong enough inspiration to let everything go by the board so long as we can write books. If we are to write stories or books we must have some remuneration to keep us supplied with food, drink, and occasional amusement. Let genius make its own rules and keep its laborious fasts, the ordinary person who feels he has talent for writing is not averse to learning the craft as he would learn any other—carpentry, basket-weaving, or bookbinding. And he (or she) will not sneer about the wants of the public but will learn all there is to know about markets for stories and novels. The following article has been written by a young novelist to supply those many people who feel they have the ability to write, with practical hints and common-sense advice.

SINCE a definition of a story must include the stories of James Joyce as well as of Dorothy Sayers, of D. H. Lawrence as well as of P. G. Wodehouse, a story is not easy to define. The modern interest in psychology is such that many of our best stories contain very little action in the old sense. Mental events have, for a time at least, obtained as much importance in fiction as physical events. A story can, for instance, be made from the thoughts of a woman as she sits by the window in the evening, trying to make up her mind whether or not she shall leave her husband, finally deciding not to, and continuing to sit by the window. Many people would complain of this story that nothing happens. They would be inaccurate. A great deal happens in the woman's mind. In fact, the only essential of the story is that *something must happen*. A story is a description of an event or a series of events.

Having begun thus pedantically, we can proceed to slightly less cautious statements. Not forgetting Homer, who had the distinction of being represented in *Great Short Stories of the World*, stories are usually in prose. Not forgetting Rudyard Kipling, who has written them about bees and wild beasts, or Lord Dunsany, who has written them about fairies, stories are usually about human beings.

THE ARTIST AS A CRAFTSMAN

THERE is no antagonism between art and craft. A good artist must be a craftsman; and the better craftsman he is, the better his work will be. There are unfortunately good craftsmen who are not artists. Their work can be seen any month in almost any fiction magazine. For though craftsmanship can be learned, imagination cannot.

Imagination will look after itself, provided that it is not pampered

and protected. But it can be rendered as helpless and useless by lack of technique as a factory-owner with no one who knows how to work his machines. Guy de Maupassant owes his supreme position among short-story writers, not so much to his imagination as to the careful craftsmanship which he *learned* from Flaubert. This despised craftsmanship, an acquisition and not a gift, enabled him to present those events which his imagination formed, in a way so perfect that they seem to achieve the comparative permanence of crystal.

Craftsmanship can only be learned by imitation. But the process of imitation is dangerous unless it is conscious and controlled. The danger to the imitator is twofold. He may imitate bad models or only the tricks and idiosyncrasies of good models. He may—and this is perhaps the more insidious danger—imitate the stories themselves and not merely the methods of story-telling employed by their authors. A vicious circle is produced in which he can make no progress. For though he may learn to produce replicas of the models he has chosen, he will never learn how to apply their technique to his own material.

All that this article can do is to make the process of imitation more conscious. It will enumerate some of the chief problems of story-writing and suggest the kind of solution which may be expected, but it is not intended as a substitute either for reading or for practice in writing.

THE AUTHOR'S PROCESS OF CREATION

IT is often said that no good writer goes out of his way to search for material, because he has more than he can deal with already. But this must not be thought to mean that the good writer has only to sit down at his desk and the story springs like a stream from the point of his pencil. All that it means is that if you live in a small country town or in a dreary suburb, there is no need to go to the south of France or join the Foreign Legion before you can write a story.

No one has a number of complete plots pigeon-holed in his mind without any effort on his part. On the contrary, the hardest work must be done before a word of the story is written. The exact nature of the process which must take place before the writing of the story begins is impossible to describe adequately. It has been called a fusion of past experiences into an organic whole. At any rate it is probably a function of memory. But this kind of statement is not much help to someone, for instance, who wants to write a detective story. Faced by a sheet of blank paper and bothered by his unemployed genius, he demands to be told how to think of a plot.

HOW TO FIND A PLOT

THE only practical suggestion which can be offered him with any confidence is that he should ask himself a series of questions about a person or a group of people, not necessarily connected with one another in fact, whom he knows or has known in the past. The first question should usually be conditional. "*What would happen if* the Fink-Drabbles went bankrupt? What would happen if, after all these years, old

Swiveleye fell in love?" When this first question has been answered as fully as possible, it is likely that the elements of a plot will already be assembled, and the rest of the formative process will be automatic. But if not, more detailed questions can be asked with the same conditions. "If papa went bankrupt, would young Fink-Drabble go to Canada? What would he do there? Would he be popular? Why not?" and so on, until the story takes shape.

But if even then the method fails, and the wretched author's mind is as blank as it ever was, there is still another chance. Let him bring into contact two or more very different characters, not necessarily connected with one another in fact. Let him place them in some specific relation to each other, and then begin to ask questions. "What would happen if old Swiveleye fell in love with Mrs. Fink-Drabble? Or if, when Mr. Fink-Drabble went bankrupt, his kitchenmaid won the Irish sweep?" This type of question can be almost guaranteed to produce a plot. Its disadvantage is that the relations between the characters are arbitrarily specified. All plots depend on relations between people. The difficulty of finding a new plot is the difficulty of finding a new human relationship. To start by specifying the relation is therefore inadvisable, because it can do no more than produce a familiar plot in a new guise. Nevertheless, that is all that many writers can hope to do.

When this method of question and answer has been tried without success till it becomes a bore, our hypothetical author had better give up short stories for a time at least and try writing dialogue for the movies. It is to be hoped, however, that such a mechanical and laborious method of plot-finding will seldom be needed. The faculty of imagination, set in motion by some chance stimulus or by events and experiences in the writer's own life, works without a goad. But in whatever way the plot has come into being, whether it has grown naturally in the mind or been assembled by deliberate device, only half the work necessary before the story is written has yet been done.

HOW TO MARSHAL THE CHARACTERS

THE next process is perhaps the most crucial. It concerns what has been called the "architectonics" of the story. Just as an architect must decide, before the building is begun, how many rooms it shall have and what their function shall be, where he will put the entrance hall, where the dining-room and the bathroom and the staircase, so the writer must select and arrange the different parts of his story. To start writing before a plan of this kind has been made is in most cases to produce a shapeless, clumsy, and perhaps futile object like a house of two floors with neither a staircase nor a lift.

The importance of this architectural process cannot be overstressed. Of course the selection and arrangement of incidents, characters, dialogue, description, and the rest are subordinate to the main idea or plot. But the plot cannot be properly presented, cannot be turned into a story, without selection and arrangement. It must be given a definite shape, with a beginning, a middle, and an end. These three must be closely

knit together so that there are no uncomfortable gaps or hitches in the sequence of events. The end must follow logically from the beginning. The several parts of the story must be arranged conveniently for the reader so that he receives each bit of information just at the moment when that particular information is most effective. No one should begin to write a story until he has decided what incidents he intends to describe and in what order, what he intends to say about each character, and at what point in the story he intends to say it. The success of the story depends almost entirely upon decisions like this.

The only test is the author's own complete satisfaction. It often happens that, when a story is finished, the author feels vaguely and unaccountably dissatisfied. The story is not as good as he expected, and he cannot discover why. Nearly always the reason is that he has chosen to describe the wrong characteristics and incidents or put them in the wrong order. This sounds platitudinous; but it is nevertheless remarkable that many of those who attempt to write short stories completely fail to realise that any process of selection is necessary, or that the effect of their stories depends upon the arrangement of the selected elements.

ROUSING THE READER'S INTEREST

ANYONE who has been employed, even for a day, in reading short stories submitted to a magazine, realises how vastly important is the first paragraph. If there is not something in that first paragraph to catch the reader's attention, even if he shall continue conscientiously to the end, he will have adopted an attitude of bored toleration which would prejudice his judgment of any story.

The first paragraph has two functions. First, it must provide a minimum of necessary information, either about the place and time or about one of the characters of the story; in other words, it must be a beginning. Secondly, it must produce in the reader a desire to know more. Very often these two functions clash. Seldom is the information which the writer can afford to give in the first paragraph interesting enough in itself to stimulate the reader's curiosity. The mere information, in fact, is more likely to stifle it. And so the first problem arises: how to present the necessary information in such a way as to stimulate curiosity? Of course, each story has its own solution. The details of the problem are different in every case. But as a general rule the only way to stimulate curiosity is to withhold, or to appear to withhold, information.

"What a strange idea it was of mine that evening when I
chose Mademoiselle Perle for my Queen!"

That is the first sentence of a story by de Maupassant called *Mademoiselle Perle*. It provides scarcely any information, but it directly stimulates curiosity. Why was it strange? and who was Mademoiselle Perle? the reader is bound to ask. The next two pages are taken up with a tantalising description of the placid, retiring, respectable household in which Mlle. Perle seems to be a sort of superior housekeeper. These pages

which supply the information would be almost dull had they not been thoroughly injected with mystery by the first sentence. This type of solution, by which the reader is first made curious and then forced to swallow the information as a means of satisfying his curiosity, is perhaps the commonest. But it can easily be abused.

Many stories do not admit of so obvious and undisguised a bait to the reader. They need more subtle treatment and they are undoubtedly harder to begin. A story, for instance, the force of which depends upon the fact that, although the events were strange or tragic, the people were ordinary and dull, will probably have to begin with a description of dull ordinary people. Unfortunately the description is likely also to be dull and ordinary unless some device is used. Somerset Maugham has written many stories of this kind, and perhaps his most successful device is to introduce the story as part of a conversation. He thus avoids the necessity of too much direct description, and the naturally dramatic qualities of dialogue encourage the reader. Incidentally, it may be said here that the works of Somerset Maugham can be studied more profitably by those in search of an unpretentious, adaptable, and efficient technique than the works of any other living writer.

Some stories plunge straight into the middle of the action :

"Charlie Meadows was out of the window and disappearing down the garden path before I realised the significance of my own words.

" 'Now you've done it,' sobbed Mrs. Meadows. 'You'd better follow him quickly.'

"I picked up my automatic from the desk and did as I was told."

This is a very decadent method. It is a desperate attempt to startle the jaded and surfeited reader from his lethargy. It seldom works, except in definitely comic stories, in which such shocks are the writer's stock in trade. If a story is any good, it can afford to begin quietly, and will only be damaged by this sort of distortion.

Sometimes it is even advisable to devote the first paragraph to creating atmosphere, a difficult business for which there are no tips or rules. A description of a tram, rattling and lurching outwards from the busy centre of a city, past cool parks and squares to a drab and ugly suburb on a hot summer afternoon, can often do more to stir curiosity and give more relevant information than any more direct approach.

But enough has probably been said to make it clear that, whatever else happens at the beginning of a story, by hook or by crook the reader's curiosity must be aroused.

HOW TO MAINTAIN THE READER'S INTEREST

IT is a mistake to imagine that readers are long-suffering. In these days, perhaps more than ever before, they are impatient ; and since it is the essence of a good story that it develops gradually, like a plant, and does not go up suddenly and fade suddenly, like a rocket, the impatient reader must be pacified, cajoled, and sometimes even deceived.

If the opening paragraphs are of a specifically introductory or explanatory nature, they must either be very short or they must be disguised in such a way that the reader does not realise when he is reading them that they are merely explanatory. Rudyard Kipling, chiefly by a judicious humour and skilful compression, is expert at disguising explanations. An examination of the beginnings of his stories will show that he never gives the reader an opportunity to say, "Yes, yes, I know all this. Get on with it."

The reader is impatient, too, of tricks and coyness. He must be tantalised, but not too obviously. Many writers begin stories in the manner of complacent conjurers, as though they were saying, "Ah, wouldn't you like to know what I've got up my sleeve?" which is perhaps even more to be shunned than mere dullness.

The beginning of a story is clearly a complicated business. The reader's interest must be aroused, the necessary information must be given, and he must not be given time to be bored nor opportunity to be annoyed. But it is equally important that his attention be directed towards the significant words, acts, and characteristics of the characters and towards the significant features of the place and time. There is no room in the short story for wandering attention. The reader must not be confused and, as it were, put off the scent by stress laid on a detail disproportionate to its place in the story. This is especially important at the beginning, because the reader does not yet know whither he is being led and therefore cannot perform an act of selection himself. It is the writer's business to see that he is led down the right paths and that what he remembers most clearly of the first page shall be that which he is intended to remember.

A most striking example of how this can be done is to be found in a story called *The Fountain Plays*, by Dorothy Sayers. The plot concerns Mr. Spiller, an escaped convict, who murders a man who is blackmailing him, only to find himself immediately blackmailed again by his butler for the very murder which was to free him from blackmail. The story opens with a long conversation between Mr. Spiller and some friends about a new ornamental fountain which he has just put into his garden. The conversation, which seems at first unnecessary, draws the reader's attention to two things, both of them very important; first, the apparently enviable financial and amorous position of Mr. Spiller, which is necessary for the irony of the story and of which the fountain is made the symbol; secondly, the fountain itself, which in the end, by wetting his victim's body, provides the butler's only evidence against him.

THE ART OF USING DIALOGUE

ERNEST HEMINGWAY, by a few tricks which are themselves little better than caricature, has started what may be a revolution in the use of dialogue. He has shown that it is possible to put into a few commonplace colloquial phrases all the atmosphere, character, and drama for which more traditional descriptive writers would need a couple of pages. His story "The Killers" in *Men without Women*, which is one of the most vivid and sinister stories that have ever been written, consists

almost entirely of dialogue. There is no need for him to use those ineffectual adverbs and qualifying phrases—*grimly, angrily, sadly, with a sigh* or *with a puzzled frown*—which seem so important to many writers and which readers hardly notice. His dialogue is written so carefully that the reader knows, without being told, how it was spoken.

This should perhaps be the first object of the author of a short story, to write phrases and sentences which can only be spoken in one way. The anger, the fear, the sneer, the melancholy, or whatever emotion is supposed to accompany the words, must be inherent in the words themselves. But not only should it be obvious how the words were spoken; it should also be obvious, as far as possible, who spoke them. Hemingway, because he is not very interested in character, is not a good guide in this matter. His pages are sprinkled too lavishly with "saids." The reason for this is that his people are all alike, only distinguished one from another by the accidents which have happened to them in this unintelligible world.

FITTING THE DIALOGUE TO THE CHARACTERS

BUT for those who have not Hemingway's peculiar interest in "the dumb ox," as Wyndham Lewis has called his favourite type, it is a good disciplinary rule to write the word "said" as seldom as possible. For it then becomes essential, for clarity's sake, that each piece of dialogue shall be perfectly fitted to the character who speaks it, and that it be carefully arranged and woven neatly into the texture of the story. If a writer allows himself to specify the speaker every time, even when the scene is not crowded, he is likely to grow slack and to fall into the deadly error of thinking that in dialogue anything will do. Clarity, however, is more important than discipline, and nothing is more irritating to a reader than to have to go back to the beginning of a piece of dialogue and check up every sentence to see who said what. If it is found impossible to arrange the dialogue intelligibly without the word "said," then the word must of course be used.

THE VIVID QUALITY OF GOOD DIALOGUE

BUT although a little thought and practice can make it fairly clear how to write dialogue, it is not so easy to decide when to write it or for what purpose. That probably depends on the different facility of each individual writer. Some people can easily suggest in dialogue subtleties which they can express in no other way. Others, on the other hand, find that however hard they try, their dialogue retains a stilted and literary air, or is jerky, unrhymical, and hard to read. Obviously the first type will employ dialogue more often and for more varied purposes than the second.

Its chief use is dramatic. "*I'm going to kill you,*" said the big man," is obviously a more vivid way of presenting the situation than: *The big man threatened to kill him.* Direct speech is in itself a kind of action, and the primary effect of the use of direct speech in stories is to make the presentation of action more lively. As a general rule, then, dialogue

should be reserved for those parts of the story which are dramatic or need to be especially vivid. Of course, general rules must often be broken, and the most usual occasion for breaking this one arises when dialogue is to be used for the presentation of character.

There is no better and, for many writers, no easier way of distinguishing one from another of a group of people sitting round a tea-table, than to report their conversation. Their opinions on golf or mothers, expressed in their own words, can often fix them more certainly in the reader's mind than the most detailed description of their appearance or analysis of their characters. But when dialogue is used for this purpose it is important to choose opinions and phrases which throw light on just those sides of the character which have a bearing on the action. If the action depends, for instance, on the jealous nature of the chief character, it is a mistake to waste good dialogue on producing the information that she is fond of wild flowers. Emphasis must be laid on the significant points, and anything said in dialogue becomes emphatic.

CHARACTER : "THE LIFE-BLOOD OF FICTION"

UNDER the influence of political economy, many young writers have recently been insisting that their novels, unlike all other novels, would not deal with petty differences of individual character, but with great historical and sociological issues. "We have heard enough," they say, "of exactly how Michael or Peter got on with his parents, of exactly why Jennifer didn't marry George, and of exactly what Inez felt when she first got drunk. We are tired of psychology. We shall write of mass movements, class struggles, and historical forces." The impulse which makes them say this is intelligible and even admirable. But when they begin to write, they discover, perhaps to their disgust, perhaps to their secret relief, that the only way to present their great sociological issues is to depict some of the individuals involved.

Character is the life-blood of fiction. Even the most mathematical detective story or the most extravagant farce must at least pretend to deal with individuals. Laziness, lack of skill, or congenital incapacity may cause the writer to deal in fact with types. But except in fantasies and allegories this is a fault, not a virtue. Even the ordinary reader who has never considered the unbreakable connection between variations of action and variations of character, only cares to read about individuals. "The characters," he demands, "must come alive. I will not read about abstractions. I want to feel that I have met the people about whom I have read, and that I should recognise them if I saw them in the street." Here then is an intricate problem for the short-story writer : how to make characters "come alive" in the few thousand words at his disposal.

What might be called the standard method is to begin by a brief description of the type and species to which the character belongs, his profession, age, qualities, and physical appearance. The details are then filled in by dialogue and behaviour as the story develops. The danger of this method is that the directly descriptive part is likely to

bore the reader. It has been used so often and applied to so many thousands of characters that it is apt to seem stale almost before the story has begun.

Then there is the subjective method, by which the person's immediate thoughts and feelings are set down in such a way as to reveal his character. This is only effective if it is done in great detail, or if the character is one whose thoughts are likely to be interesting or amusing in themselves. Nothing is more jejune and unconvincing than a few stray thoughts, and there is seldom room for enough detail in a short story.

To avoid staleness and to preserve brevity, recent short-story writers have devised a method of suggestion which is a combination of these two with the addition of comments, metaphors, and comparisons by the author. It is a haphazard business, sometimes very effective, sometimes merely absurd.

"Should he or should he not turn the young puppy out of the house? In spite of his training, he was not very good at making decisions. Like a sea-lion at feeding-time, he sat up in his deck-chair and barked huskily. George, wondering vaguely whether the purple of his face was due to alcohol or sunburn, poured him out a whisky. He drank deeply and bellowed again.

"That young fellow Fortescue's an ass."

This passage is a portrait of an Indian colonel by the hit-or-miss method of suggestion, not at its best but at its most obvious.

Each of these methods has some serious drawback—the danger of staleness, of verbosity, of caricature, or of fiasco. But there remains one which, though difficult, is more sound and more trustworthy. The narrator limits his apparent function to that of a reporter. He allows himself neither superhuman insight into the thoughts and feelings of his people nor the pleasure of literary display and descriptive virtuosity. He gives as briefly as possible the information about them necessary to the plot—that Mr. Welldon, for instance, is the vicar of a small country parish in East Anglia and that Toni is a Dutch gigolo domiciled at Juan-les-Pins. He then proceeds to tell precisely and without comment what Mr. Welldon and Toni did and what they said to each other. By careful selection of incident and manipulation of dialogue, Mr. Welldon and Toni can be made to "come alive"; can be differentiated from all other clergymen and all other gigolos. Character, in fact, can be made to emerge in speech and action.

FICTION IS FOUNDED ON FACT

"THE characters of the stories in the — *Magazine* are entirely imaginary and have no reference to real persons." If the stories are any good, this statement is itself a fiction. Every imaginary character which has the slightest resemblance to a human being must have some reference to real persons. The imagination cannot function in the void. Even mythical animals like the centaur or the unicorn are compiled of features taken from actually existing animals and combined so

as to make a new imaginary animal. The creative imagination can do no more than form these new combinations. The red beard of the local police-woman is combined with the ill-temper of the author's aunt to make the tyrannical landlady of his imagination. This character will indeed be imaginary, but it will have direct reference to two real persons. Most imaginary characters have references, direct or indirect, to many more than two real persons.

But quite apart from the present state of the law of libel, under which it is possible for an unhappy author to be found guilty of libelling someone whom he has never seen or heard of, actual portraits of living people are seldom successful in fiction. The writer's invention is shackled by fact. So long as he is attributing to the character actions, thoughts, and experiences which he knows the living person to have had, there is little or no difficulty. He is not writing fiction. He is writing biography or gossip. But when the exigencies of the story make it necessary to exceed the limits of fact, to write not from knowledge but by invention, he is apt to find himself suddenly incapacitated. Fact and fiction will not blend easily in a faithful portrait. A muddled, unconvincing, inconsistent character results, which is unlikely to "come alive." Fictional characters must be founded on the writer's knowledge of living people; but, nine times out of ten, they are better when no attempt has been made at portraiture.

THE SECRETS OF DESCRIPTION

REALISM has made the writing of fiction much more difficult. It is no longer respectable to give fantastic or conventional descriptions of activities or places. If you describe a game of bridge or cricket, you are supposed to know precisely how those games are played. The smallest error of terminology will bring angry letters to the Sunday papers. If you set a scene in Rome or Vienna, you must be very careful about the geography of the streets. You must never betray the fact that you are an ignoramus like Shakespeare. So severe is the contemporary reader's demand for accuracy—at least in those things with which he is himself acquainted—that many young authors feel almost bound to qualify as pilots before they allow their hero to fly, or to get themselves imprisoned before they can write about a convict.

This difficulty, though it is real, is not as great as it seems. If details are mentioned, whether of games or well-known buildings or machines or professions, they must be accurate. But details which cannot easily be checked need seldom be used. It must be remembered that the object of realism is to give the impression of reality. Details often hinder as well as help that impression. For just as in life most people get only general impressions, so in literature they expect and want only general impressions.

THE MISTAKE OF DESCRIBING TOO MUCH

ALL kinds of things can be described. A mood, a disease, a metaphysical system must be described before it can be discussed. We have already said that a story is a description of an event. But in speaking



Man. Psych.

[M.-G.-M.]

A GREAT CHARACTER IN FICTION

Betsey Trotwood, as re-created by Edna May Oliver, in the film production of Dickens's immortal classic, *David Copperfield*.

of literature, description usually means visual description. A good descriptive writer is someone who is good at describing things seen. In fiction the objects of description can be divided roughly into three classes : People, Places, Activities.

Now obviously it is necessary that the reader shall have some idea of what the characters of a story look like ; whether they are fat or thin ; red-faced, dark-skinned, or pallid ; smart or shabby ; tall or short. But it is not by any means necessary that their faces and clothes should be described in detail. It is much better in fact, that, given a few hints, the reader should form his own picture of their appearance. A beautiful blonde will not seem any more beautiful to many readers by being fitted out with a turned-up nose, a wide gash of a mouth, and a small neat chin. If the important fact about her is her beauty, its component parts had best be left to the reader's taste and choice. For many complicated reasons, human beings do not easily agree about physical beauty. Those people are notorious to whom the lovely Lady Dash appears merely nit-witted and vicious ; and it is very probable that the exquisite heroine of a story, when described, will become for many readers suddenly repulsive. The Greeks, with their infallible instinct for such things, realised and remembered this. Scarcely anywhere in the whole of Greek literature are to be found detailed descriptions of physical beauty. They were content to give such hints as that Athene was grey-eyed ; and yet Helen of Troy has been more generally accepted as beautiful than the most described of modern heroines.

Ugliness is easier to convey in words than beauty. A wart on the nose or a squint is rarely admired. Yet even ugliness is more forceful when it is unspecified. The description of appearance is, after all, subsidiary to the presentation of character ; and just as it is possible for people to know each other well without knowing the colour of each other's eyes, so it is possible to enable a reader to know a character well without telling him such details.

In life, a person's appearance is used by others in two ways. At first sight, it gives an impression which attracts or repels and enables them to form a rough and probably inaccurate estimate of character. After the person is gone it leaves an impression which enables them to visualise him or her when necessary and to recall their previous estimate. Both these impressions are nearly always general. Similarly in fiction, a description of a person's appearance should give the reader a general impression by which he may estimate the character as accurately as possible from the first, and later recall his estimate by a visual image.

THE AUTHOR AND HIS PURPLE PASSAGES

DESCRIPTORS of places and activities are not so dangerous. The worst that can happen to your delicate account of the sunlight falling between the dappled leaves upon the ocean of bluebells where Laura lay, is that it may be skipped. No one will mind it very much ; for it is generally admitted that writers must be allowed to recognise explicitly the beauties of nature. Similarly, no one will mind, though many may not read, your careful description of the shape and decorations

of the bar-parlour or the dago's bedroom. Nevertheless, it is worth trying to make these passages not only relevant but interesting. The only way to do this is to avoid saying anything about bluebells or bedrooms which the average reader may be supposed to take for granted.

The difficulty of describing activities—a fight, a race, a man mowing a lawn—is very much the same. Fights, races, and men mowing lawns are common enough sights; and if a writer is to lift his descriptions of them out of the commonplace, he must take care to stress those details which make the particular fight or race or man mowing different from all others. There are always differences to be found, and there is never need, though there is plenty of excuse, for commonplace.

THE FUNNY STORY THAT MISFIRES

IT is remarkable how jokes which have been, or would be, very good jokes indeed in conversation become silly and irritating when they are written down. The man who is funny at a dinner-table will often find it very hard to be funny in writing. The reasons are too complex to discuss here, but it is safe to assume that the success of the spoken joke depends upon a direct personal contact between the speaker and his audience which the writer cannot make. The writer has to make a contact by proxy through the medium of his characters. Similarly, the characters only make an indirect contact with the reader through the author's account of them.

The humour, then, of a story, whether it occurs in dialogue or not, must not be direct in the way in which spoken humour is direct. It must be adapted to the roundabout method of its communication. How it can be so adapted is impossible to say. It can be discovered only by experiment. But two points may usefully be remembered. First, a deliberate joke in fiction is seldom successful unless the whole story is designed, like Saki's, as a vehicle for jokes. For what is funny in fiction is often something which in life would be an ordinary or even an exceptionally serious occurrence. A funny story, told by a commercial traveller, would not be so funny in fiction as a story which is not funny, told by a commercial traveller. Secondly, most authors whose humour is good, have found it best to allow the humour to grow naturally from their characters; to leave them, as it were, to be funny or not as they choose, and never to bully them.

HOW MANY WORDS IS MY STORY WORTH?

TCHÉKOV wrote a story called *The Proposal* of about four hundred words. Somerset Maugham has often written stories of nearly fifteen thousand. But these are extremes. The best lengths are between two thousand and ten thousand words. Anything shorter is usually better called a vignette or an anecdote. Anything longer is difficult to sell, unless the writer already has a reputation; and it probably contains irrelevancies and superfluities, unless the writer has taken great trouble to obliterate them. From the purely commercial point of view, taking into consideration what editors are likely to want and how much they will have to pay, the most profitable length is four or five thousand words.

But there is only one real rule about length, and that has nothing to do with editors. The story must be as short as it possibly can be without losing any of its force. Padding is more disastrous in a short story than in any other form of writing. Every phrase must add something to the force of the story or it must come out. If after such a drastic excision, the story has dwindled to dwarfish and unrecognisable proportions, it must either be rewritten quite differently or abandoned.

It is quite a good test, though it sounds stringent, to go through a story when it is finished, examining each sentence to find out its function. Does it provide information necessary to the plot? Does it add to the reader's knowledge of one of the characters? Is the particular piece of knowledge it adds useful to the story as a whole? Does it fill in the story's background or help to create atmosphere? Does it make the story more realistic or more fantastic or more dramatic or more funny?

Quite a simple sentence may be very important. It may have more than one function. "He liked to play bridge every evening from six till eight" gives considerable knowledge of a man's character. It also suggests that if, for several days, instead of playing bridge he spent the time from six to eight drinking double whiskies and staring out of the club window, his friends would know that something unusual must have happened. It helps, too, to produce an atmosphere of prosperous and complacent middle-class routine. On the other hand, in some stories, the sentence might be the most boring kind of superfluity.

Unlike a novel, a short story even at a casual first reading, can be apprehended as a whole. By the time the last sentence is reached the reader has not forgotten what happened on the first page. What happens on the first page, therefore, must be directly relevant, even absolutely necessary, to the last sentence and indeed to every other sentence in the story. If there is not this close bond of necessity between each and every part of the story, the reader will be left dissatisfied and perhaps annoyed. A few irrelevant sentences in a short story are as noticeable and disastrous as a whole chapter of irrelevance in a book.

IN SEARCH OF A MARKET : WHAT EDITORS LIKE

IT is probably safe to say that more than half the difficulty in selling stories is due to inadequate knowledge of markets, which require much careful study where fiction is concerned. One editor will want stories about people of definitely higher financial or social status than the majority of his readers. Another will insist that his women readers must be able, without much imagination, to picture themselves in the same position as the heroine. Another will want stories with a twist at the end—some absolutely unexpected turn of events in the last few paragraphs. One will need two thousand words full of action. Another will consider six thousand, where the author has room to develop atmosphere and portray character.

The biggest demand is, without question, to use an editor's words, for "stories about nice young people falling in love with one another." The fact that they do it every day in every way and that hundreds of

thousands of short stories have already been written on the subject does not lessen the demand, nor, it must be admitted, does it make the task of the free-lance any easier. The theme has to be given fresh life by supplying it with new stage equipment and scenery, as it were, combining in some way the sophisticated trappings of modern life with the essential human simplicity of the "old, old story." It is not easy to do, but it is undoubtedly one of the very best ways of making money out of short stories. The writer who, from his own personal knowledge or experience, can give the story glamour by arranging the action in some place or in some sphere of activity which is comparatively strange and unknown to the average reader is lucky.

The next largest demand is undoubtedly for good adventure stories and "thrillers" of all kinds. Stories of family life are best left alone. The inexperienced writer needs more words than a short story allows him to make a family interesting. Stories of marriage tangles or illicit love need careful handling if they are to sell well. Studies in atmosphere or in psychological development are, generally speaking, only for the well-known writer, or for those seeking the more literary markets, where stories are more difficult to sell and cannot command fees comparable with those paid by popular magazines.

The writer who leans to stories of an unusual type written in a more or less popular way—and these will sometimes be successful—should remember that it is almost impossible to sell stories with morbid subjects or unhappy endings in a good paying market, unless one is well known. Artistically one may feel bound to face such subjects and such endings, but very few editors indeed can be induced to do so. For the fiction writer it is important to realise as soon as possible the kind of subjects with which one can successfully deal in a novel but which one must avoid in a short story written for profit.

THINGS THAT DETERMINE THE SIZE OF THE CHEQUE

PAYMENT for short stories varies from a guinea a thousand in small women's magazines, through the fairly usual two to three guineas a thousand in the more important magazines to the fabulous figures paid by one or two American publications. *Harper's Bazaar* pays at the rate of twenty guineas a thousand. Certain newspapers have a definite figure for a short story of about two thousand words, and this is often in the region of ten guineas. But few newspapers publishing short stories take them from unknown writers. If one's work is particularly good or has sufficiently impressed an agent for him to bargain for special terms, one would get from the established magazines more than the customary three guineas a thousand paid to the unknown writer. Payment is made on acceptance, on publication, or within a month afterwards, according to the custom of the paper or magazine. Guidance on the subject of the publications which prefer to come to some arrangement about fees before the contribution is accepted can be obtained from the *Writers' and Artists' Year-Book*.

The author usually sells first serial rights only, unless some stipulation is made to the contrary. The right to republish the story in any other

form or place is retained by the author. Second serial rights are frequently sold to syndicates who re-sell them to provincial or colonial papers and magazines.

Until the author has found his feet, he will probably find it more instructive and more economical to dispense with an agent, but as work increases such an intermediary becomes a necessity. A list of reputable agents may be found in the *Writers' and Artists' Year-Book*.

HOW TO PLAN BOOKS OF FICTION OR FACT

ONE of the most important differences between a short story and a novel is that the novel is longer, so that the architectural process, the arranging of parts in a satisfactory whole, is more difficult in the novel. The number of possible combinations being much greater, it is harder to find the best, and more likely that, if the best is not found, the reader will be confused and dissatisfied. Many successful novelists have said in symposia that they always make a synopsis before they begin to write. Many beginners have naturally been horrified at the thought. Nevertheless, it is probably true that some sort of synopsis, either written or kept in mind, is essential.

There is, however, no need to adhere to it very rigidly. The synopsis, like the Sabbath, was made for man, not man for the synopsis. Its use is that it enables the writer to keep the whole work in view while he is engaged on the parts. For instance, if by the end of the second chapter the character of the heroine has "developed" in some unexpected direction, the writer is able to turn to his synopsis and make those alterations in the other parts of the book which this unexpected development necessitates or suggests. In any imaginative work, such readjustments are to be welcomed as a sign of vigour rather than shunned as a sign of weakness. For this very reason, if an imaginative writer works without a synopsis, the growing book is apt to get out of hand. With one, he is able to keep it more or less consciously under control; and he is less likely to find, when he comes to the end, that half of it needs re-writing.

THE PROBLEM OF TIME AND SPACE

THE events with which a novelist deals are extended in time and space. And although there is danger of becoming involved in mathematics when this is said, some such statement must be made. For the success of a long story depends largely upon the preservation of the temporal and spatial relations between the parts. Less pedantically: time must pass and things must move. The chief problem confronting a novelist is how to deal with this flux. It cannot be presented "in its entirety," as James Joyce has proved by his Herculean labours. A series of moments and points must be chosen which, when presented in succession, give the necessary illusion. The stream of consciousness cannot be presented without interruption. It flows too fast and deep for the shallow, narrow canal-banks of language. But there must be no apparent breaks or gaps. The progress of a story should be conceivable as a curve on a graph, simple or complex, but unbroken.

If it were possible to say how this might be done, the number of unsuccessful novels would be considerably diminished. Unfortunately it is impossible to do more than suggest that a study of cinema technique—choice of shots, camera angle, cutting, arrangement, and “continuity”—might be of great assistance to the novelist.

For a first novel to sell, it should be about eighty thousand words in length. Much is being said at the moment about the increasing popularity of the long novel, and it may be true that long novels from established writers are more in fashion than they were. But the long first novel is not favourably regarded by publishers. Guidance is almost impossible in the choice of theme or plot, for good conception and writing can make almost any theme acceptable, though here, as with other branches of authorship, the popular market is usually the best to aim at if commercial results are the chief objective. It must be remembered that the majority of novel readers are women, and that the majority of people who turn to fiction demand of it that it should succeed in “taking them out of themselves.”¹

SOME RULES FOR WRITING NON-FICTION

“A BOOK,” said I. A. Richards in the preface to his illuminating *Principles of Literary Criticism*, “is a machine to think with”; and this aphorism should never be forgotten by those who attempt to write any other kind of book than fiction. Machines must be constructed to perform the task for which they are intended as efficiently as possible. So must books. An author should regard his book as a thing to be used by the reader just as unsentimentally as a bicycle is used, and for as definite a purpose. A biography, for instance, of someone whose biography has not before been written, will be needed primarily as a machine to remember with; and it should set out the known facts of the subject’s life as accurately and as clearly as possible, in chronological order. But a biography of someone of whom there have been already seventy biographies written, will be needed, if it is needed at all, as a machine to judge, to analyse, or to appreciate with. If it is critical, it should set out only such facts in such order as shall enable the reader to judge; if analytical, such facts in such order as shall enable the reader to follow the analysis; if appreciative, such facts in such order as shall give the reader the fairest and most comprehensible picture of the subject.

It may be thought that these remarks are platitudinous and unnecessary. But an examination of half a dozen biographies, chosen at random, more or less fresh from the Press, will show how little the average biographer knows what he is supposed to be doing. This is not altogether his fault. The public and the reviewers are largely to blame. A bicycle which would not move, though it were guaranteed to make everyone giggle, would be generally considered a bad bicycle. But a book of criticism which does nothing to enable the reader to judge, though it tells him a lot about the tastes and whimsies of the author, is often considered, by apparently sane and responsible people, a good book of

¹ For fees, terms, etc., see page 206.

criticism. No wonder, then, that in such bewildering circumstances, many bad books are written. Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that a few writers will remember that a book is a machine and not a toy ; and that what matters most about it is whether or not it works.

In the attempt to make a book which will work, the writer must always consider the reader's convenience. The book must be both easy to read and easy to refer to. The material must be arranged logically. Arguments in the third chapter, for instance, should not be founded upon facts which are only produced in the seventeenth. A description of the causes of a crisis should precede and not follow a description of the remedies. A definition of an Aryan should precede an account of his proper place in the world, and so on. The style, to use I. A. Richards's distinction, should be as strictly "symbolic," as little emotive as possible. Each word should precisely "stand for," something or an idea of something. No word should be used to provoke an emotional response in the reader. This does not, of course, apply to works of propaganda : but propagandists can be left to discover their own methods. In any case, propaganda probably ought to be classified as fiction.

Yet a logical arrangement of material and a lucid style are not enough. Chapter headings, sub-headings, and indexes, though not generally considered an important part nor even any part of the author's business, are essential if the book is to be convenient for reference. In these days, if a book is not convenient for reference, it is half damned. Indexes should be as full as possible. I personally prefer the kind which is almost a concordance. Indexes are useless when, as often happens, the one thing which you want to find is not there. Although an author would be rash to prepare his own index, he would be both wise and kind to see that it is comprehensive. That chapters either be themselves short or be divided into sections is also essential if the subject of the book is complex. But these divisions are useless unless the headings are clearly descriptive of the content. Nothing is more inconvenient for reference than several pages of unbroken or unlabelled text.

THE AUTHOR AND HIS PUBLISHER

JUST as a modern engineer would not dream of designing and constructing an elaborate machine without either a definite order from an industrialist or without at least discussing with an industrialist the possibility of its use, so the modern writer co-operates with his publisher in the design and construction of a book. The habit of writing books—other than novels and poems—and then looking round for a publisher, is becoming obsolete.

If a man thinks it necessary or profitable or desirable to write another book about Sir Walter Raleigh, the first step he should take is to discuss with a publisher the kind of book it should be ; its uses, its length, its plan, and its prospects. If he does this he will save himself a great deal of time and energy. Of course, if you are a mathematician engaged upon an epoch-making theory, there is no need to discuss its shape with the Syndics of the University Press. But if you are just a poor writer, it is

better to consult a publisher before you begin to write. The enormous number of books published every year makes the danger of overlapping considerable. A good publisher will know when a book is redundant and what kind of book on the same subject might be needed. The writer will have to co-operate with a publisher in the end, perhaps by making substantial alterations, certainly by helping to correct the proofs. It is better for everyone's sake and for the book's that this co-operation should begin early. When the subject of the book has been settled, the author should prepare two or three chapters and a full outline or scheme for the rest of the book, and submit them to the publisher. In the case of a travel book, or any other which the author proposes to illustrate with drawings or photographs which he himself is supplying, he should submit a few of these as well. In this way the author and publisher collaborate in producing the most appropriate type of book for the market in view, and in addition the author enjoys a greater measure of security than he could have were he just writing "on spec."

The field of non-fiction, comprising every sort of book from biography and memoir to school textbooks, offers many opportunities to the non-creative writer with specialised knowledge or unique experiences. It is, in general, less immediately remunerative than novel or short story-writing or than popular journalism, but in the long-run it is likely to pay better than any of them. A book on fishing, for instance, or a French grammar may show few or no returns for five or six years, but after that period may quite well produce a steadily growing income for the rest of the author's lifetime.

THE BUSINESS SIDE OF BOOKS

THE selling of books entails more in the way of business arrangements than the selling of short stories. It is not merely that more money is involved, for frequently a successful magazine short story will bring in as much money as a first novel, but the system of payment is different. Instead of the full fee being paid outright, when a publisher buys a book—fiction or non-fiction—some form of contract is usually drawn up between the author and himself. What the author of a first book may expect from the most usual form of agreement is a payment on account of royalties made on publication—in the case of a novel probably about twenty-five to thirty pounds—and royalties above that amount at the rate of 10 or 15 per cent. per copy on the selling price after 5000 copies have been sold.

In the case of a non-fiction book, commissioned by the publishers, the author may get as much as fifty pounds advance or even more if the subject is one demanding specialised knowledge, such as music, geology, or philately. But publishers do not commission works of this kind from unknown writers: journalists who have concentrated on one subject, or experts who have taken to journalism, are those most likely to be approached.

If the first novel has been a moderate success, the second should bring an advance of seventy-five to a hundred pounds, with a royalty of 10 to 15 per cent. These terms are about the average; some publishers,

however, offer considerably better ones while a few make them even lower.

The beginner should never have any dealings with a publisher who wishes him to pay anything towards the cost of publication, for no reputable publisher will ever consider publishing a book of general appeal which is not sufficiently promising to induce him to bear the costs. Highly technical or specialised books, of course, form a special case. Publishers sometimes offer an author a lump sum for all rights in his book, but generally speaking this procedure is not in the author's interest. The author is the first owner of the copyright of anything he writes, but if he has sold his book outright he can claim no share in the profits if it proves to be a great success, is dramatised, made into a film, translated, etc.

There remains the question of what sort of income a writer may hope to earn. Authors of non-fiction works do not as a rule depend solely upon writing ; for them, their pens produce a useful addition to a regular salary from some other profession. Novel-writing, however, is more often a full-time occupation. A really successful first novel might bring the author between one and two hundred pounds, but these are exceptional figures. A successful novel which sells over a number of years may be a profitable investment, producing a steady income from royalties and from the various rights : film, dramatic, and translation. An established writer of moderate reputation may earn five or six hundred pounds a year, while a first-class popular novelist, writing only two or three books a year, may reach an annual income of seven or eight thousand pounds. This includes, of course, proceeds from royalties, rights, etc., on previous novels.

It is in the interests of every author to join the Incorporated Society of Authors, Playwrights, and Composers, which acts as a kind of society for the prevention of cruelty to all of the writing fraternity. It will look into all contracts and agreements to see that its members obtain a fair deal, will act for them in any dispute, and give advice on any problem that arises in the course of selling written work. Moreover, if, as sometimes occurs, the author or his agent sells separate rights abroad in any short story, book, or play, the Society will collect fees or royalties and look after the member's interest where he himself would be unable to do so.

WHERE TO FIND HINTS ABOUT STORY-WRITING

WRITING a short story is a very technical task, and the shorter the story the more difficult does the task become. There is no question of making the short story, as the novel is often made, a mere rag-bag for personal prejudice and experience. The craft must be acquired ; we must go to the experts for lessons. If a practised short-story writer happens to be among your acquaintances, an hour or two's conversation would prove most valuable, but, failing the personal contact, one or two books may be recommended. *Short Stories and How to Write Them* (Harrap) is a detailed and practical guide ; it is written by a man who should possess as much experience of a certain type of short story as anyone, for the author, Cecil Hunt, is the fiction editor of *The Daily*

Mail and *The Evening News*. The composition of short stories for these markets requires a more definite technique than that for any weekly or monthly periodical. Other books on the same lines are R. Francis Foster's *How to Write and Sell Short Stories*, published by Allen & Unwin, and *The Commercial Side of Literature*, by Michael Joseph (Hutchinson). A book of another kind, which deals more with the literary graces, what might be called the æsthetic side of the subject, is Percy Lubbock's *The Craft of Fiction* (Traveller's Library).

When the general idea of how to write a short story has been grasped and a number of the best tales of all countries have been read, then you should begin to make a special study of how to write that kind of short story you feel most drawn towards. Detective stories make fascinating reading; authors may perhaps tell you they are not so fascinating to write. However this may be, a masterly monograph on the *genre* has been written by Dorothy L. Sayers in her introduction to *Great Short Stories of Detection, Mystery, and Horror* (Gollancz).

As far as hard-and-fast rules can be formulated for novels, the same hold good for the long as for the short story. The great novelists themselves are the best guides, but they have wisely refrained from writing recipes for books. C. E. Montague's *A Writer's Notes on his Trade* may be consulted for profit and pleasure. The most painstaking novelist who ever lived was probably Gustave Flaubert, the French writer; in his *Correspondence with George Sand* (Heinemann) is to be found nearly everything there is to be said about writing.

WRITING FOR STAGE, SCREEN AND RADIO

by ALAN HOWLAND (*of the "Saturday Review" and formerly
of the British Broadcasting Corporation*)

THE art of writing for the stage, the screen, or the radio is not one which can be easily taught, if, indeed, it can be taught at all. The most that can be attempted is to indicate the lines on which such writing should be done, and to point out some of the more obvious pitfalls. If the prospective author has the literary ability and the urge to express himself in dramatic form there are certain principles which it is necessary for him to understand and appreciate, but dramatic authorship is not a task to be undertaken lightly or without the full realisation that it has its own technique, its own rules, and its own limitations.

It must be assumed in the first place that the author is a person who finds it more easy to express himself in dramatic form—that is to say, in the form of dialogue—than in the novel, short story, or essay form. He need not be a poet—a primrose by the river's brim may remain a simple primrose to him to the end of his days, but it must inspire in him the desire to create living and speaking characters rather than to write a novel about a professor of botany, or a poem "To a Primrose," or an essay on the flora of the riverside. This may sound a truism, but it is not. For every person who says, "I am going to write a play because I *must* write a play and nothing else," there are scores of people who say, "I am going to write a play because it is such fun to be a playwright." The person who takes the latter attitude will probably never write a satisfactory play.

THREE MODES OF EXPRESSION FOR THE PLAYWRIGHT

THERE are three ways in which the dramatist may express himself, through the stage, the screen, and through the radio, and his first task is to decide in which of these three moulds he is going to cast his material. He will be guided in this decision by certain personal considerations. For the sake of clarity let us look upon the theatre as the home of three-dimensional art, the cinema as the home of two-dimensional art, and the wireless as the home of one-dimensional art. Television must be ignored at the moment as it is impossible to say whether it will follow the technique of the theatre or the cinema, or whether it will in the course of time evolve a technique peculiar to itself. The three dimensions of the theatre are, as I see it, sight, sound, and the conscious or subconscious interplay between actor and audience. The two dimensions of the cinema are sound and image, and the one-dimensional radio relies on pure sound for its effect.

To take the three in their chronological order, let us deal with the

theatre first of all. We have already assumed that the author is a person who finds his natural form of expression in a stage play. He must have more than this. He must have a love of the theatre and a love of dramatic literature. He must make himself familiar with the works of the great dramatists—Shakespeare, Sheridan, Congreve—and the contemporary dramatists—Shaw, Somerset Maugham, Coward, Lonsdale. It would be of considerable advantage if he could study the plays of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, if not in the original, at least in a good translation.

There is only one way to read a play and that is to read it, as it were, with one's eyes shut. The characters should pass across the mind's eye just as vividly as if they were actually strutting their fretful hour upon the stage. They should be clothed by the imagination in the very habiliments which they would be wearing. Their gestures, their facial expressions, their voices, their very inflections should be as vivid to the reader as though they were being enacted before him in the flesh. Just as a musician reading a full score can actually hear that entry for the wood-wind, that delicate passage for the horns or that magnificent sweep of the strings, so the reader of a play must merge himself in the thing he is reading and become one with the dramatist himself.

Love of the theatre is every bit as important. The reading of a play is a fine thing, but it lacks that vital contact between the artist and the beholder, that intangible sympathy which only the theatre can give. There are two distinct ways of watching a play—for the sake of entertainment and for the sake of analysis. For this reason the student of the drama should endeavour to go at least twice to the same play. The first visit will tell him what the play is about, whether it is a good play, whether it is well acted and whether the author has been well served by his producer. The second visit will enable him to discriminate between the respective shares taken by the author, the actors, and the producer in the finished performance and to concentrate on the play itself. It will be possible to discover how the author presented his plot, how he introduced his characters, how he developed his theme, and how he achieved his *dénouement*. It does not matter whether the play be a good one or a bad one, the lessons are there to be learnt.

THE FOLLOW-MY-LEADER TENDENCY

NEXT comes the choice of a subject and the selection of a suitable way to present the subject chosen. In other words, is it to be a tragedy, a drama, a comedy, a farce, or just a play? There has been a regrettable tendency on the London stage during recent years for authors to play an extremely unprofitable game of follow-my-leader! No sooner does Charlotte Brontë take the stage as the central character in a new play than the theatre is deluged with plays good, bad, and indifferent about the Brontë Sisters. Henry the Eighth has but to swagger before an audience in Shaftesbury Avenue and the town is full of Bluff King Hals. Somebody digs up the *Œdipus complex* from a decent obscurity and there is a spate of plays about mother fixations and maternal jealousy. This is the wrong way to write a play. It is

all very well to be in the fashion, but if the clothes are not made of good material they will not last.

The only way, then, to choose the subject for a play is by intuition, or, as some people prefer to call it, inspiration. The author must have either the desire to write or something to say—preferably both. Shakespeare had nothing in particular to say about the seacoast of Bohemia or the Forest of Arden, neither of which had any real existence, but his imaginative genius could not be suppressed and, because he had that desire to write, the theatre and, indeed, the English language has been enriched by *Twelfth Night* and *As You Like It*. Shaw, on the other hand, has much to say about doctors and politics, hence *The Doctor's Dilemma* and *The Apple Cart*. Shakespeare could produce a perfect play out of nothing; Shaw selects the dramatic form as being the most likely to propagate his ideas.

It would be an impertinence to imagine that one can teach a genius to write a play or a novel or how to compose a symphony or to paint a picture. Shakespeare probably did not read a treatise on authorship before he wrote *The Tempest*, and Mozart was able to compose without resorting to textbooks. But there is, and always has been, a large body of people who, while they know that they have ideas to express, know too that they must be expressed through some particular medium; they cannot proceed unless they know the kind of scaffolding which they must erect before the building can take shape. It is to people in this category that these tentative remarks are addressed.

THE PLAYWRIGHT SEES LIFE IN DRAMATIC FORM

THE author, then, has something to say, and he is convinced that it must be said in dramatic form. He is the type of man who, if he sees someone fall off a bus, thinks of the incident in terms of its dramatic quality. He does not go home and write a letter to *The Times* about the carelessness of citizens who rely on buses for transport, or the high-handed attitude of the London Transport Board in allowing vehicles from which it is possible to fall, to ply for hire. He does not see the occurrence in the Hugh Walpole manner, and write a novel about the man's family unto the third and fourth generation, nor does he evolve a scintillating essay in the manner of G. K. Chesterton to prove that in this topsy-turvy world it should have been, by an immortal paradox, the stairs which fell down the man and not the man down the stairs. He sees merely the drama of it all, and according to his mentality he translates it into terms of farce, tragedy, or high comedy.

The English theatre has a tradition which decrees that there shall be at least two intervals during any given performance. The author has in consequence a ready-made scaffolding with the aid of which he can build his play. It must be in three parts—in other words, it must have a beginning, a middle, and an ending. More learned writers than I would prefer to say an exposition, a climax, and a dénouement, but the fact is there in both cases.

Before we proceed to analyse the method of evolving a play, let us say just one brief word about the central idea which has prompted the

author to try his hand at this hazardous profession. Every plot must have in it the elements of conflict, conflict of theories, conflict of personalities, conflict of circumstances, but conflict there must be. *Hamlet* would be nothing without the mental conflict of the Prince of Denmark; the mere fact that Sheridan called his play *The Rivals* is sufficient to prove the truth of the axiom; hundreds of years before, Æschylus wrote a play called *Septem contra Thebas* in which "contra" is the operative word.

Even in farce the same statement is true. If it were his own bedroom in which the young husband found himself, there would be no play; his wife could not conceivably be annoyed at that. It is the fact that he is discovered in the bedroom of a young woman, clad only in a bathgown, which provides the essential conflict between him and his wife and which provides us—the audience—with our real enjoyment. We may think we are laughing at slamming doors and elderly men in bath towels, but it is chiefly the misunderstanding between the two central characters which is causing us amusement.

KEEPING THE AUDIENCE IN SUSPENSE

WHICH brings me to the question of dilemma. There must be one central point in every play at which it is impossible for the audience to foresee the ultimate solution. They may guess, they may in the case of a so-called "thriller" exercise their mental ingenuity, but they will not be absolutely certain. The dilemma in *Macbeth* emerges after the killing of Duncan, in *Hamlet* after that very painful interview with the ghost. The most obvious fault of the modern playwright is that he sees no necessity for that central point. Too many plays are written, and actually produced, which rely entirely on brisk dialogue or swift production for their effect. Too often one sees plays sprawling over the stage with either no climax at all or fourteen different climaxes at ten-minute intervals.

These amorphous products are mere literary weaklings. They mean nothing, and in consequence they retire into limbo after half a dozen performances. There is another type of play which, so far from sprawling, is spread very thin on very underdone toast. There may be a crisis somewhere, but if there is, it either passes unnoticed or comes at the wrong place. The brilliant dialogue is supposed to make up for the absence of plot and theme.

Conflict and dilemma, then, may be accepted as two of the essentials in a well-constructed play. There is still the dénouement, or ending, to be considered. Everybody must have experienced that feeling of disappointment at seeing a play which does not finish but merely stops. Unfortunately in these sophisticated days the tendency to write plays of this sort is becoming more marked. Author after author presents us with what he considers to be "a slice of life," but he usually cuts it with a very blunt knife. This is due to two psychological misconceptions, the first based on artistic, the second on financial, grounds.

The author says to himself, "I hate the conventional happy ending in which the heroine falls into the hero's arms at precisely 11 p.m.,

because it is inartistic and banal. On the other hand, people will not pay to see a play in which the final curtain descends on a stage full of corpses or on the heroine weeping over her husband's bier. My play, therefore, will have no ending, happy or otherwise, it will merely stop in time for the pittites to catch their trains." Such an author is utterly wrong. He is shirking the issue, and his conscience is making a coward of him. He is not altogether to be blamed, since the same tendency is to be observed in other branches of art. The modern musician refuses to resolve his chords, he does not believe in cadence, he writes notes and not music. It is as though a man were to set out on a walk and make up his mind to stop at 11 p.m., wherever he might be, whereas the essence of a walk is that one should arrive somewhere, even if it be only one's own home. A symphony must end with a cadence, a play must end with a resolution of the conflicting elements which have been portrayed, just as a walk must end with a bed or a meal or a drink.

To sum up this portion of the argument, there are of necessity three parts to every good play from the structural point of view, and the three-act form suits the exigencies of the modern theatre very well. This does not mean that the beginning, middle, and ending of any given play must coincide with Act 1, Act 2, and Act 3, but it does mean that although the rule of three may puzzle me, the practice of it need not necessarily drive me mad. The end of the first act should leave the audience anticipating a climax, the end of the second act should leave it wondering what the solution of the climax is to be, and the final curtain should provide the answer to the problem.

ERECTING THE "SCAFFOLDING" ROUND THE PLAY

SO much for the groundwork. The plot has been selected and the foundations well and truly laid. We know also that there are eventually going to be three storeys to our house. What of the scaffolding? The characters are going to provide the scaffolding, with the help of which we can lay our bricks, in the form of dialogue. There are all sorts of scaffoldings available to the modern builder. There is the old-fashioned wooden type which painfully and laboriously adapts itself to the particular building which it is proposed to erect, and there is the up-to-date tubular type which can easily be adapted to any job which there may be on hand. The latter can, of course, be run up very cheaply and at a minimum cost.

So with plays. There are a number of stock characters which, with a little ingenuity, can fit any situation in any play. There are also plays which depend very largely on characterisation for their full effect. *Hamlet* is only completely successful because every character, down to the second gravedigger, is perfectly drawn. Menas and Thyreus are as essential to the structure of *Antony and Cleopatra* as the Queen herself. If it is permissible to mix metaphors, you cannot graft a tubular *Hamlet* on to the trees of Birnam Wood. Feste would be as much out of his element in Arden as would Touchstone on the seacoast of Bohemia.

Stock characters make stock plays, and stock plays are, both from the artistic and financial point of view, absolutely worthless. This does not

mean that it is in the least necessary to invent new and extraordinary characters in order to write a successful play. The stage need not be peopled with Calibans. What is essential is that the characters should fit the theme and the situations. Caliban, Bottom, and the witches in *Macbeth* are only permissible because they merge naturally into their surroundings. In other words, it is not sufficient to create characters, the author must create individuals who react to and upon the plot which is being unfolded.

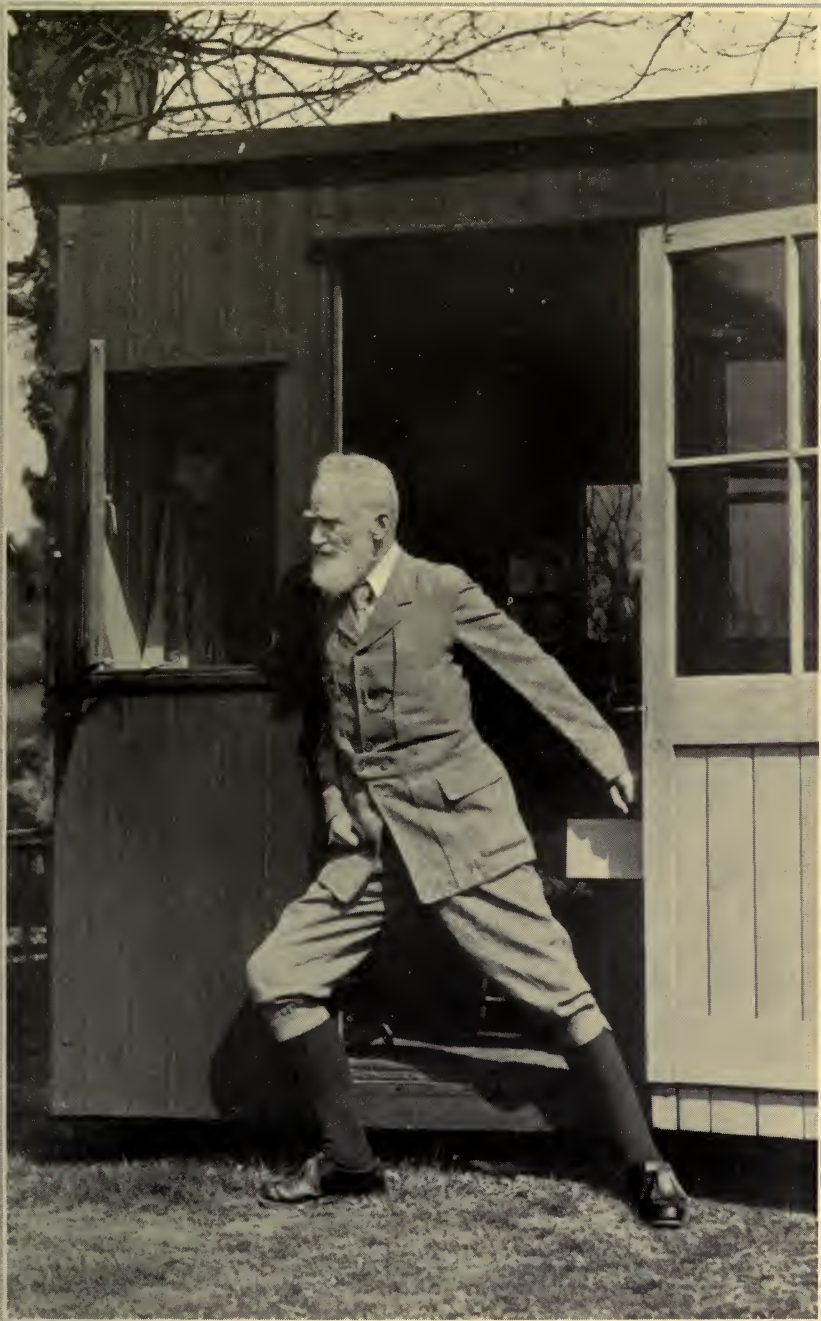
LETTING THE CHARACTERS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

THE question of dialogue is one about which it is possible to say but little. There are people who can write dialogue and other people who simply cannot, nor is there any golden rule for learning the art. If the play is to be a sincere piece of work the probability is that the characters themselves will take charge of the situation and speak for themselves. If it is to be merely an essay in stagecraft they will all speak in the same way and with the same voice, namely, the voice of the author. I once had the opportunity of studying the methods of the play-reader of one of the big London managements. It was new to me, but obviously sound. Having read and digested the list of characters on the front page, he covered over the names as they occurred in the actual script with a piece of paper, and read the dialogue without any guide except his own intelligence as to which person was speaking. If the play were well-written, he had no difficulty in following the action, but if he had continually to refer to the margin the play was usually set on one side.

The only possible way for an author to write natural and convincing dialogue is for him to place himself in the position of each character in turn and to look at the situation through the eyes of the puppet he has created. It is true, of course, that thousands of people in real life do talk and behave in the same way, just as thousands of monkeys gibber in the same way and one ass brays very like another ass. But that is no excuse for filling the stage with characters who speak and behave in exactly the same way as each other. Nothing is more irritating than a play about bright young people who all use the same catch phrases and do the same outrageous things—unless it be the bright young people themselves.

SIMPLICITY THAT IS WELCOMED BY THE PRODUCER

THERE is hardly any necessity to speak at length of the unities of time and space, since in every case they depend on the theme which the author has selected. There is, however, a more practical side to this problem. Managements in these days are not anxious to undertake a production which involves the building of half a dozen or more "sets" and continual changing of scenery and furniture—that is, of course, unless it be the adaptation of a 1500-page novel or a translation from the Russian. *Grand Hotel* and *Magnolia Street* would never have seen the light of day had they been written originally as plays by unknown authors.



[L.N.A.]

HITCHING HIS WORKROOM TO THE SUN

G. B. Shaw swings round his pivoted sun-trap, designed to create the best conditions for brainwork: health-giving rays and light.

OF
CALIFORNIA

The same thing applies in a lesser degree to plays with twenty or more characters. It has got to be a very good play indeed which will persuade the shrewd theatrical manager to embark on its production if he knows that his salary list is going to be a long one. These are hard facts but they are true ones. The modern impresario generally looks first of all at the number of characters and the number of scenes before he starts to read the play. He is not to be blamed ; he is giving employment and he must be sure of his profits. Economy, then, is the watchword, economy of scene, economy of characters, and, equally important, economy of language.

Let us suppose that the play is written, and possibly re-written two or three times. What is to be done with it ? In the first place, it is absolutely necessary to have more than one copy typed. Managements have an awkward habit of losing manuscripts or of not remembering having received them, and when the play does return to its owner—as it usually does—it is dog's-eared and battered, and quite useless for showing to anyone else.

HOW CAN THE AUTHOR GET HIS PLAY READ ?

MARKETING a play is not the easiest thing in the world. One hears astonishing stories of plays which achieve instantaneous success on their London production having been sent to and rejected by fourteen or fifteen different managements before one has been found who will take the risk of presenting them. They probably were sent, but that does not mean that they were read. There is positively no means of making an impresario read any given play. He is a law unto himself. He may have already commissioned some popular and successful author to write a play round the leading lady whom he has under contract. He may have half a dozen plays "up his sleeve." In either case he does not wish to be bothered with reading plays which he knows before he starts will not be of any use to him.

Probably the best course is to put the play in the hands of a capable and trustworthy agent—and there are such to be found. He will know better than the author which management is most likely to be interested, and if he himself believes in the play, he will be able to persuade the manager concerned to read it. In addition to this he will—on commission, of course—arrange all the tiresome financial details which authors in the main shrink from discussing. He will see that advance royalties are paid, and he will make sure that the author receives a just percentage of the gross takings. He will, moreover, insist that these arrangements are embodied in a formal contract. It is far better to trust a reputable agent than to spend time and money registering copies of the play to people whom one does not know and who will in all probability keep it for at least six months before they so much as give it a thought.

The amount an author may expect to receive from a play varies so much with circumstances that little useful indication can be given. It is possible for a successful first play running for perhaps five or six months to bring its author more than a thousand pounds, and first plays have been known to make considerably more.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE CINEMA

FILMS were originally a form of one-dimensional entertainment. In the early days of moving pictures the action was explained, where explanation was necessary, by printed sub-titles. The hero had to be identified, so had the villain: the heroine was usually identifiable by her golden locks or her general air of innocence. When comment was necessary for the better understanding of the film, flickering sub-titles were shown, bearing such legends as "Came the Dawn" or "And so into a world full of the hum of bees." These were the growing-pains so often suffered by the infant which is outgrowing its strength. The exciting thing in those days was that the picture was not merely a picture but a *moving* picture. It followed inevitably that the film which was most calculated to capture the imagination of the public was one in which horses galloped, motor-cars sped along the highways, and blonde heroines were borne off in aeroplanes. Speed was the essential factor and very little else mattered.

After a time the novelty of moving pictures began to wear off and something more was required to tickle the palate of the public who thronged the converted mission-halls which served for cinemas. Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Drew discovered that sheer acting could hold an audience as well or better than the sheriff and his posse. John Bunny and Flora Finch proved that the technique of the theatre could be equally well applied to this new and astonishing invention. Charlie Chaplin went a step further and, in an entirely different medium, brought the art of mime into its own again. Various people endeavoured to adapt themselves to the silent screen by using the technique which they already knew—Maurice Costello, Mary Fuller, Marc McDermott, and in the lighter vein, Ford Stirling and Chester Conklin.

All this time the exhibitors of the films had realised the necessity for giving the audience something to listen to as well as to watch. Consequently pianists were engaged to provide a dreamy waltz for the love passages, a rousing tune for the sheriff and his men, and a nice, slow, thumpy passage mostly in the bass clef and with plenty of wiggles in it, for the villain. The cinema pianist foreshadowed the general application of sound to image and was also responsible for the development of the theme song and the signature tune.

Before we get on to the subject of "talkies" as such, there are one or two obvious points to consider. In the first place, it is clear that the rules which apply to the construction of a stage play apply with equal force to the writing of a film scenario. There must in each case be a beginning, a middle, and an end. This is rather more difficult in the case of a film, because there are no artificial pauses, in the form of acts and scenes, to aid the writer. Nevertheless the story must be built on a sure foundation. Instead of the curtain descending at the end of an act there must be a point at which the theme, as it were, changes direction. This is merely to say that as between the stage and the screen there is a distinction but not a difference.

The same is true of characterisation. Characters must be built up

on exactly the same lines as though one were writing for the stage. They will have their exits and their entrances, and one man in his time will play many parts.

At this point it may be well for the prospective scenario writer to decide whether he is going to write for pleasure or for money. If he is going to hitch his wagon to the very distant star of creative film construction he may with advantage skip the next few sentences. If, on the contrary, he desires to make money out of the film racket he may, without any particular disadvantage, listen to a few words of wisdom.

STORIES WRITTEN TO "FIT THE STARS"

JUST as the theatre has cycles of plays on the same subject, so the cinema tends to circulate round a given idea or a given "star."

It is only necessary for someone to produce a film about gangsters and the whole world is flooded with gangster films. *The Big House* is followed by *The Huger House* or *The Public House* before one has time to turn round. This is bad enough, but there is worse to follow. There are not only cycles of films but cycles of "stars." If Greta Garbo is holding the stage, it is no use writing a scenario which demands a Cicely Courtneidge as its leading character. If Wallace Beery is all the rage at the moment, it is hopeless to conceive a film in which the interest centres on a one-legged Welsh dentist. The story should fit the star. The star will never come down from its firmament to fit the story—at least under the present system.

THE ONLY WAY TO LEARN

As in the case of a would-be author of a stage play there is only one way to learn how to write a scenario. The written word can effect practically nothing. Every village in England has its cinema where it is possible to see almost every type of film. The person who is intent on becoming a scenarist should see any and every film at least twice. On the first visit he will probably be lucky if he can decide whether the film was well-constructed or not. But the second visit should leave him in no doubt as to where the climax came, how the suspense was sustained, and whether the dénouement was satisfactorily worked out.

A third visit, if funds will run to it, will enable him to study the scenarist's or producer's use of sound—that is to say, natural sound in the shape of aeroplane noises, waterfalls, and the like, as well as dialogue—and also the way in which the various sequences are built up into one composite whole. There are certain devices which he will be able to detect and recollect. He will see the camera "panning"—that is to say, moving around on its own axis in order to pick up an object or a character at some distance away. This is often used in news-films, when the camera "pans" from the goal-mouth to the applauding crowd after a winning goal has been scored. He will learn the value of "tracking" as when a camera follows a man walking along a street, keeping the one object in focus all the time.

He will realise that "cutting" from one scene to another creates a very different impression from "fading" from scene to scene, and he will

notice that a quite legitimate effect can be produced from "dissolving." Perhaps "dissolving" needs a little explanation. Let us suppose that the heroine has to be in Carlisle by 11.20. She is on the train and it is now 11.10. The producer shows the close-up of a clock face with the hands pointing to 11.10 and "dissolves" it into an engine-wheel pounding along at full speed. He "dissolves" back to the clock face reading 11.15, and so on. All these devices, and many more besides, are perfectly sound, but they must be used with discretion. They must be necessary and vital to the unfolding of the plot. To use them as mere trimmings is as unpardonable as it would be to go to Covent Garden Opera-House in a top-hat and sand-shoes with a hollyhock in one's buttonhole. The temptation to juggle with all the exciting toys which the cinema and the microphone place in one's hands is well-nigh overwhelming, but it must be resisted at all costs. As Hamlet said in his famous advice to the players, it is necessary to "use all gently."

APPROACHING THE FILM MAGNATE

THE "placing" of a film scenario is, perhaps, a trifle easier than the "placing" of a stage play. Whether or not it may be due to the influence of American business methods on the film industry, film magnates are more easy of approach than theatrical managers and, generally speaking, their appreciation of the box-office qualities of a story is more sound. The proof of this, if proof is needed, can be seen from the fact that there are but few empty cinemas, while theatres both in London and the provinces have a habit of closing down for months at a time. To put this down to the unfair incidence of the Entertainment Tax is to take a biased view of the problem. Film magnates are business men who deliberately cater for the public taste; too often theatrical managements consist of moneyed amateurs who trust their own judgment of popular taste even against professional advice in order to gratify their personal ambition.

When one is dealing with a business man it is as well to be as business-like as possible oneself. There is no need to go through the labour of writing a complete scenario with every sequence carefully modelled and every line of dialogue inserted. The story should be written in the first place in the form of a brief précis of five hundred words or so with an indication of how the author proposes to treat his theme should it be considered suitable. Only when the idea has been accepted need the story be elaborated into scenario form. Indeed, as often as not, the film company will prefer to pay for the idea and outlined story alone, and to leave the task of putting the material into scenario form to one of its trained staff of scenario writers.

The scenario, when finished, should be easy to read and to ensure this it is advisable to consider each page as divided vertically down the middle and to keep the camera instructions to the left-hand side of the page with the dialogue on the right. Many a good play has failed to see the light of day because it was indifferently typed and because the stage directions were neither typed nor underlined in red, and the equivalent is true of a film scenario.

Fees for film stories vary considerably. The minimum paid by one British company for a useful idea is twenty-five pounds, and really first-class material has been known to command as much as five hundred pounds. In America, of course, remuneration is on a distinctly higher scale.

ENTERTAINING BY SOUND ALONE : THE RADIO PLAY

SINCE the wireless is the most recent invention by means of which entertainment can be given to the public, it may be pardonable to devote rather more space to radio plays than has been given to their two elder relations.

In this one-dimensional art, we are dealing with pure sound, just as the silent film dealt with pure image. Sound in "talkies," whether it be natural sound or dialogue, is the background or scenery to the image, whereas in radio drama the natural sound, or "effects," is the background or scenery to the dialogue. To put it in another way, the picture of an aeroplane will be supported by a combination of the noise made by the propellers and the conversation of the pilot and the observer, while in the radio play the conversation of the pilot and the observer is the important thing and the noise of the propellers becomes the background. The author has to think—not in terms of pictures, but in terms of pure sound, and at the same time he has to realise that there are two different kinds of sound, namely, speech and "effects."

ONE OF THE FIRST RADIO THRILLERS

IN order to learn how to write for this difficult medium it may be well to consider how the sound drama has developed. One of the first plays to be written especially for broadcasting—if not the very first—came from the pen of Richard Hughes. It took place down a mine-shaft, and although it was written in the early days of broadcasting, it still remains one of the best little thrillers heard on the air. The main reason why it is interesting is that it marks the first stage in the development of a new art. Richard Hughes did not write his sketch because he had something vital to say about miners, but because a coal-mine gave him an excellent opportunity for the use of sound effects. He chose his background first and superimposed his dialogue.

This was followed by a series of programmes devised by R. E. Jeffery and John Whitman, which were intended to exploit natural sound with the assistance of dialogue. Military tattoos and the like became the order of the day, not because either of the authors was in the least militaristic, but because that type of programme presented the opportunity to create a realistic background of machine-guns, bombs, shells, and shouted words of command. The background of sound was obtruding itself and becoming the foreground. It was inevitable that things should develop along these lines, and it is largely the result of the experiments of these two pioneers that the "effects" in the modern radio play are as good as they are.

The next development came when it was realised that the story

was more important than the trimmings. The background became a background, and the dialogue started to take pride of place. The main difficulty was to find a suitable story, and as there were no suitable authors who had found it worth their while to devote their energies to this new game, it became necessary to take ready-made stories and adapt them for the microphone. Again, it was one of the earliest experiments which was the most successful. Cecil Lewis's adaptation of Conrad's *Lord Jim* remains one of the high-water marks of broadcasting. He used a form which, while it was more or less thrust upon him by the novel itself, continues to be the most satisfactory way of presenting a play to an unseen audience. The plot was unfolded by a narrator, and the action was supplied by interpolated scenes illustrating the events which the narrator was describing. This device was used in a modified form by Philip Wade in *Family Tree*, and is used continually in the Children's Hour in what are known as "Dialogue Stories."

THE RADIO AUTHOR'S HARD TASK

AFTER the adapted novel came the adapted stage play—which has remained with us ever since. It is much easier to take a play by Ibsen and turn it into a microphone play by putting the stage directions into the mouth of one or other of the characters than it is to condense a novel into an hour's dialogue. It is far easier to do either of these things than to write an original play in one dimension.

The author of a radio play has therefore a hard task before him. The adapted novel and the adapted play were first in the field, and he must write something really convincing in order to compete with these formidable rivals. That it is possible to do so has been proved again and again, and the fact that more "adaptations" than original plays are broadcast is due, not so much to lack of enthusiasm at headquarters as to the timidity of authors who are afraid to experiment in a new medium. Fortunately there were some brave spirits who determined to make themselves proficient at the game. They watched the gradual development of radio drama and were wise enough to see that the story, unlike the early experiments, must depend on dialogue for its success. The days of stunting were over by now, and the fact that the scene was laid at Niagara Falls or Brooklands was no longer likely to excite either the play-reader or the listener.

L. du Garde Peach was the first author to realise the importance of this fact. He has always something to say, and he invariably says it well. One of his best productions, *The Path of Glory*, depends almost entirely on its central theme and the briskness of its dialogue, and the sound effects do not obtrude themselves on the ear. Philip Wade, the most promising of the young radio dramatists, has developed along the same lines as L. du Garde Peach. He pays far more attention to his story and his dialogue than to the inclusion of pictures in pure sound. The effect of a situation is not always heightened by the noise of birds singing or waves beating on the shore. Something must be left to the imagination of the listener, and in many cases the producer is better able to judge what incidental sounds are essential than is the author himself.

CATERING FOR A UNIVERSAL AUDIENCE

THERE is one essential respect in which writing for the radio is different from writing stage plays or film scenarios, and that is in the matter of the potential audience. A playgoer who wishes to see a bedroom farce goes to the theatre where such a play is being staged and not to the one next door where Sybil Thorndike is playing in *Hecuba*. A film-fan does not go to *Mädchen in Uniform* if he wants to see The Four Marx Brothers. But the listener does not go to the radio drama at all ; the radio drama goes to him. Unless, therefore, the listening audience is to remain quite static, plays must have a majority rather than a minority appeal. This fact is not always realised by authors of wireless plays. The listening public is not a group of minorities, each of which has to be entertained in turn ; it is a wide and universal theatre, the audience of which is composed of people with hopes and fears, ambitions and aspirations, likes and dislikes, and no more peccadilloes than the best or the worst of us. It is, therefore, a mistake to pander to the tastes of minorities.

A radio play, to be successful, must be the type of entertainment which the ordinary person will welcome in his drawing-room. Nobody in these enlightened days is expected to shelter under his roof the kind of person for whom he has an aversion. He will close the door on tramps as well as on well-dressed cadgers. In the case of the radio he can soon close the door effectively by switching off. Radio drama, with its limited appeal, too often has the door shut in its face, but in reality there is not the slightest reason why plays should not be as eagerly listened to in the home as they are in the theatre or at the cinema.

SOUNDS WHICH TAKE THE PLACE OF DESCRIPTION

AS in the case of the cinemas, there are no ready-made divisions into which a radio play will naturally fall. The beginning, middle, and ending do not coincide with any pauses in the presentation of the play. The transition, therefore, from each phase to the next must be definitely marked. It follows that radio plays should be written, not in three acts, but in scenes which correspond with the sequences in the film scenario. In the absence of scenery and vision, each scene must be "planted" in the ear of the listener by a distinctive sound. Thus, the noise of typewriters will convey to the hearer the imaginative background of a business office, just as the sound of an engine and the shouting of porters will suggest a railway station. If these and similar sound effects are utilised in an intelligent way there is no necessity for the narrator to describe the changes of scene.

Characterisation, too, takes on a slightly new complexion when it had to be created in one dimension. Characters must be simple and obvious. Listening at home, with all the distractions of daily life going on around one, is a vastly different thing from communal listening or watching in a theatre or cinema. Characters in a radio play, therefore, must be distinguished, not only by their behaviour, but by their voices.

It is permissible, if not actually necessary, to have fourteen cowboys in any given cinema drama of the wide-open spaces, but fourteen cowboys in a radio play are a confusion and a nuisance. They will all speak with the same voice and in the same idiom, and there is no means of distinguishing one from another. Characters must, therefore, be as sharply differentiated from the purely vocal point of view as the incidental noises. There must be as much difference between the sound effect created by the hero and the villain as there is between the noise of a waterfall and a taxi-cab.

All this must seem fairly obvious but it cannot be sufficiently reiterated. Play after play is launched on the air in which it is impossible to follow the plot simply because the characterisation has been built up on the false assumption that pure sound can take the place of sound plus image. This is not the fault of the B.B.C., which has to take what it can get so long as authors are scarce. It is lack of enthusiasm on the part of the authors which is hampering the growth of this new art. All this will be changed provided sufficient authors interest themselves in writing for the microphone. Instead of adaptations and feature programmes there will arise a new and virile art which will appeal to the many instead of merely disappointing the few. Radio drama will give birth to its Shaws and its Galsworthys, its Maughams and its Cowards—who knows—perhaps even to its Shakespeares and its Sheridans. By this time the adapted stage play and the potted novel will, apart from certain exceptional masterpieces, be museum pieces. They have served their turn, and they will as a result have a place of honour in the memories of our grandchildren.

Radio drama has not arrived, it is still in its infancy and is a rather backward child at that. Sordid as it may seem, the real reason for this is that, in spite of the huge financial resources of the B.B.C., it is not possible to make as much money out of writing a radio play as it is by being a successful playwright or scenarist. An author who is receiving a percentage of the gross takings at a London theatre may make thousands of pounds if his play is a success; a scenario writer may receive three hundred pounds or more for one film; but the B.B.C. can only possibly pay to its star writers about sixty guineas and the general level of remuneration is considerably less.

THE SMALL REWARDS FOR THE RADIO DRAMATIST

IT is only fair to admit that no author should expect to make as much out of a play which is only presented to the public for one, or at the most, two performances as he would from a play which would fill a theatre or a cinema for a number of months. The size of the audience is not the decisive factor—if it were, the B.B.C. would obviously pay higher fees than any other organisation—but it is the time element which must to a certain extent govern the size of the emoluments. In other words, the B.B.C. can present a play to five million people in the course of one hour, while it takes years to present the same play to the same number of people through the medium of the theatre or the cinema. A radio play is the May-fly of the arts. It is born, it makes its brief

appearance on two different wave-lengths, and it dies. Some of the more successful radio plays have been repeated from time to time, but this does not benefit the author in the slightest degree, as he surrenders all broadcasting rights once his manuscript has been accepted.

This state of affairs cannot possibly last. The discrepancy between the financial returns from the Theatre, the Cinema, and the B.B.C. are so great that there is bound to be an adjustment in the near future. One of these days it will be as profitable to write a radio play as to write any other form of dramatic composition. It is bound to be a slow process. Fifteen years ago radio drama did not exist, in fact it was hardly thought of. It was sufficient in those days to hear a piano creeping through one's earphones out of the void. Nobody had realised the potentialities of broadcasting, let alone the possibility of grafting a new limb on to the oldest of all the arts. It was inevitable that payments should at first be small. They are improving by degrees, and there is no doubt that in the future the radio dramatist will be able to command as much for his services as the playwright and the scenarist.

The Drama Director is the final judge of whether a play is suitable for the vast listening public, and it is to him that all manuscripts should be sent. There is no need to employ an agent; he will charge at least 10 per cent. and that does not leave a great deal for the author.

THE MAGNIFICENT GAME OF MAKE-BELIEVE

WRITING plays, in whatever dimension, is a fascinating game. Generally speaking, the theme selects itself, but the characters sometimes take charge of the situation. They grow and develop before one's very eyes. They assume habits and mannerisms with which one had not the slightest intention of enduing them when the idea was first conceived. They give a twist to the plot which never existed in the mind of their creator. Whether one is thinking in terms of the Theatre, the Cinema, or the Wireless, they treat the author of their being in the most off-hand manner. It is sometimes as much as he can do to keep them within the bounds of his original concept. In the end, if the author is firm, they toe the line, and sometimes the result is a work of art.

The essential thing in this magnificent game of make-believe is to be sincere. The play, whether it be farce or comedy, tragedy or melodrama, must be true to itself and the author. The trivial performances one is sometimes condemned to see on the London stage, the idiotic shapeless films which occupy too many of our cinemas, and the pretentious nonsense which desecrates the ether from time to time only succeed in bringing the theatre, the films, and the radio into contempt. Sincerity in art is the only thing that matters. It is not given to everybody to be a genius, but those who believe that they have some natural gift stand every chance of success if they will write what is nearest to their hearts and not be led astray by the ambition to be considered clever. It is only the genius who can afford to disregard the rules of the game, the ordinary workman must master his craft with all its intricacies before he can hope to achieve recognition. The rewards are not always commensurate with the amount of labour expended, but to the true artist

the knowledge of a piece of work well done is worth all the laurels which sometimes crown the brows of less deserving people.

WHAT TO READ NEXT ABOUT PLAY-WRITING

THOSE who are sufficiently interested to wish to pursue the subject further can supplement their visits to theatres and cinemas by reading various books that deal with the different aspects of play-writing. As already pointed out, there is no easy road to success, but a deeper study of the various problems involved may serve to increase the enthusiasm to overcome the obstacles which beset the path of the intending dramatist. In recommending certain books the writer does not necessarily subscribe to the conclusions at which their authors have arrived.

Publications of value on the drama are *How to Write a Play*, by St. John Ervine (Allen & Unwin), and *On Dramatic Method*, by Granville-Barker (Sidgwick & Jackson). Four books on scenario-writing which give the basic principles are *Films : the Way of the Cinema*, by Andrew Buchanan (Pitman) ; *Film*, by Rudolf Arnheim (Faber & Faber) ; *Writing for the Screen*, by Jackson (A. & C. Black) ; and *Writing for the Films*, by L'Estrange Fawcett (Pitman).

No really classic work on radio plays had so far appeared, perhaps because broadcasting is such a comparatively recent factor in modern life. There are, however, several people who have set down their ideas on the subject and their views may be studied with advantage. The books referred to are *Shall I Listen ?*, by Filson Young (Constable) ; *Broadcasting*, by Hilda Matheson (Thornton Butterworth) ; *Learn to Write for Broadcasting*, by Claude Hulbert ; and *How to Write Broadcasting Plays*, by Val Gielgud (Hurst & Blackett). These four books, if they do not instruct, will at least stimulate.

In addition, the B.B.C. Drama Director issues a free pamphlet entitled *The Wireless Play*, which contains much useful first-hand information and gives authors an authoritative account of the type of play the B.B.C. requires.

Informative books on the subject of play-writing should, of course, be used in conjunction with, and not instead of, a study of plays and films at first hand, and the reader should not rely altogether on methods which other authors have found satisfactory.

THE ART OF PUBLIC SPEAKING

by M. J. MOULTON, M.A.

DR. JOHNSON once made a distinction between talk and conversation. Asked, on his return from a reception, if there had been good conversation, he replied that there had been good talk, but no conversation, by which, he explained, he meant no discussion. Eighteenth-century "conversation"—that for which serious scholars, divines, artists, and blue-stockings assembled over dishes of tea to listen to each other's elaborate spoken essays on set subjects—this kind of public speaking has ceased to be fashionable. Doctor Johnson at a cocktail party would not shine. On the other hand, the art of speaking has become far more widespread outside the drawing-room. There is much more opportunity for public speaking to-day than ever before. The salesman needs eloquence above all else to persuade customers to buy. With the spread of interest in politics, social problems, and literature, debating societies have multiplied; and a new field has been opened for the public speaker by the arrival of wireless sets in almost every home. But whether the lecturer is unseen or face to face with his audience, he is definitely in demand. For everyone—or nearly everyone—to-day wants to know. Those who have the art of telling attractively cannot only earn money by it but they can effectively assist in the advancement of general culture, which can only come about by knowledge and right use of that knowledge.

With this growing interest in public speaking, competition has increased and standards have risen. No longer will a village audience listen, gaping with admiration, to any speaker from the town, however slipshod his delivery or tedious his subject. It will be critical. It will have listened in. It will need precise facts attractively put over, an incisive, lively, comparatively informal style. This article is written to help the amateur speaker acquire such a style and to instil into him that regard for the exigencies of oratory possessed by a great Athenian, of whom Plutarch writes: "Such was the solicitude of Pericles when he had to speak in public that he always first addressed a prayer to the gods, that not a word might unawares escape him unsuitable to the occasion."

A WITTY person once divided golfers into three categories—those who play at golf, those who golf, and golfers. His meaning was that some people play golf occasionally and probably badly for social reasons, others play oftener and more competently without taking the game seriously, while a comparatively small number master the game by patient and constant practice.

Public speakers may be divided into somewhat similar categories. There are those who never speak in public unless it is impossible to avoid doing so. If they are called upon to propose a vote of thanks, or to read a paper at a meeting of the local debating society, they comply with this request as best they can in spite of nervous tremors and general uneasiness. Then there is a second class whose occupations or social position force them to speak in public pretty frequently. Through practice they become competent but uninspiring speakers. Finally

there is the class, very small numerically, who can speak with confidence and effectiveness before any audience, because they have treated public speaking as an art in which one attains perfection by assiduous study and constant practice.

Why the number of really first-rate public speakers, men who by the magic of their voice can convince and persuade audiences of the rightness of their ideas, should be so small must remain a constant source of wonder to those who study the art of public speaking. For it is clear that the majority of people could become capable public speakers if they realised that in most cases the public speaker is made, not born. True, a few people are conspicuously endowed with the natural gifts that make for success in public speaking, such as an attractive musical voice and an impressive appearance, but there are many more persons capable of rising into the first rank of public speakers who think that they are inarticulate because their first attempt at public speaking has been a painful experience.

THE TERRORS OF A FIRST SPEECH

WHAT scares most people is the initial difficulty of public speaking. The beginner may have prepared his speech very carefully, but when he rises to his feet his courage fails him, he loses control over his voice, his mind seems a blank, and he experiences agonies of nervous torture. He stumbles through his speech, or rushes through it desperately. Anyhow, he is painfully conscious that he has failed, and nothing will induce him to face such an experience again. Of course, every maiden speech is not a failure, but nearly always it is a sore trial on the speaker's nerves. Yet a little common sense should banish this bogey of platform fright. All great speakers have felt nervous at first, and some have never begun a speech without nervous qualms. It is natural that we should be nervous when we begin public speaking, as it is a completely new experience to have to use the voice in an unusual key and to have to address a body of people. Therefore the sensible attitude to adopt towards platform fright is to say: "This is something which every speaker has had to overcome. There is no reason why I shouldn't overcome it as well."

In its initial stages public speaking may be a nerve-wracking experience, but later it has its compensations. You will seldom feel keener or warmer satisfaction than when you sit down after making a speech which you can see has interested and affected the audience. It is worth while cultivating the art of public speaking, and taking a little pains in order to achieve the satisfaction of swaying the minds and feelings of a body of people. Although you may have to screw your courage to the sticking-point before rising to make your first speech you will find yourself looking forward with zest to your tenth speech. By that time the difficulty will not be to begin speaking but to leave off speaking.

It is not only for the rare sense of mastery that comes from public speaking that you should practise it, but because you are almost certain to be invited to speak on some occasion, and it is humiliating to have to refuse. When you are invited to take the chair at a social or to propose a toast at a dinner, it will increase your self-respect and enhance

your social reputation if you can accept, knowing well that you will discharge the task with distinction. And you need have no doubts about your capacity to do so, if you have rid your mind of the idea that the gift of public speaking is a happy accident, and not something you can acquire by taking a reasonable amount of pains.

THE SPEAKER MUST BE HEARD

IN public speaking the essential thing is that you must be heard. Your thought may be profound and your language choice, but unless the audience can hear without difficulty, other beauties of your speech are wasted. It seems quite obvious that audibility is imperative, but how many speakers appear to ignore this elementary fact? How many speakers mumble and mouth their words so that they are inaudible to all save the platform party, and the occupants of the first rows of seats. To make oneself audible one has to speak *aloud*, which does not mean that one has to shout, or to adopt a tone quite different from that of ordinary conversation. In ordinary conversation we can manage to make ourselves understood, even if our words are not articulated quite distinctly. But we cannot make ourselves intelligible to an audience if we persist in slovenly articulation. We must endeavour to have our voice under perfect control, so that we can enunciate our words clearly and distinctly.

SOME FAULTS AND HOW TO CURE THEM

TO control our voice it is necessary to understand how it is produced. The voice is produced by the action of the breath upon the vocal bands which are situated in the larynx in the upper part of the throat. This produces sound which must be directed to the palate *at the back of the upper teeth*. Plainly, the first step in controlling our voice is to control the breath supply. Much faulty articulation is due to the speaker's failure to breathe properly and to control his breath supply. The lungs resemble a pair of bellows which supply the force for projecting the voice. If we are to get the maximum force from the lungs we must make use of their full capacity. Now, many people fail to do this. Their breath supply is inadequate because they use the upper part of their lungs only. The public speaker must take care to speak on "full lungs," and to do so he must develop the muscles of the lower part of the lungs, which supply the greatest amount of force. Exercises in deep breathing will develop the full capacity of the lungs, and ensure that the speaker will have a full volume of breath supply. To control the breath it is necessary to breathe in through the *nose*, and not through the *mouth*. Exercises in quick inhalation through the nose will facilitate control of the breath supply, and prevent the flatness of tone that results from depleted lungs. Good breathing also adds volume to thin or weak voices.

While it is necessary to control the bellows that force the voice outwards, it is also imperative to see that the voice has easy access through the mouth. A common defect in speaking is "throatiness," that is, the sound comes from the throat or the back of the mouth. To overcome this defect the speaker must project the voice against the back of the

upper teeth. It must seem to come from the front of the mouth. Throwing the voice forward is largely a matter of the will. Take some object a considerable distance in front of you, and aim, as it were, the voice at this object, and you will find "throatiness" gradually disappear.

Another piece of advice which should not be needed, but which is seldom superfluous, is to open the mouth. It is not uncommon to find speakers, probably unconsciously, trying to speak with closed lips and teeth, or only opening them to a barely perceptible degree. In public speaking one must have no hesitation in opening the mouth as widely as may be necessary. What one has to do to ensure good voice production is not to make a voice, but to eradicate all bad habits that prevent the voice from finding easy access. Give the voice an easy passage, and you need have no anxiety about its clarity.

MAKING THE VOICE CARRY

WHEN you have to face a large audience, you have to make sure that the voice carries to every part of the hall. To do so you have no need to resort to shouting, which merely strains the voice and irritates the audience, who dislike any semblance of tub-thumping. The voice will carry if you enunciate your words more deliberately than you do in ordinary conversation. If a speaker's voice is blurred at a distance, if it is difficult for the listener to disentangle the words of his sentences, it is generally because the speaker is slurring his words. His consonants are weak and his vowels are indistinct, while he may have the habit of lowering his voice at the end of a sentence. As the consonants provide the carrying power for the speaker's words, he should enunciate them vigorously and distinctly. Particularly is this the case with consonants at the end of a word. If the speaker fails to enunciate them distinctly, his audience will have grave difficulty in following him. If "and" is enunciated like "an," while "that the" sounds like "tha' the," even the most patient audience will be annoyed by such slovenliness.

Good enunciation can be attained by a little practice. A useful method is to read a passage from a book aloud, giving the consonants their full weight, perhaps deliberately exaggerating them, especially the terminal consonants. This exaggeration may be noticeable in conversation, but it will not be observed on the platform. Similarly, vowels should be given their full weight, and the speaker must guard against a tendency to lower his voice at the end of a sentence. Sometimes this lowering of the voice is due to a failure of breath supply, and will be corrected by adopting better methods of breathing. The voice is a wonderful instrument, and nothing is more attractive than a well-cultivated voice free from the common defects that are observable in those of many public speakers. Therefore effort spent in cultivating the voice will be repaid richly by greater effectiveness on the platform. And the process of training the voice is not unduly irksome or lengthy. It is like learning the grammatical rules of a foreign language. At first it seems drudgery, but it is obviously necessary, and soon it becomes mechanical. The speaker can then address himself to the other problems

of public speaking, knowing that he has acquired his medium—that he possesses a well-cultivated voice which will be a permanent asset.

STRENGTHENING THE MUSCLES OF THE MIND

THE speaker who has cultivated his voice until he can get the best effects from it has taken a big step towards success in public speaking. But ease in speaking can degenerate into glibness, if one has not something to say worth listening to. The matter in a speech is as important as the manner of saying it. After all, the voice is only the instrument for the expression of the speaker's thoughts and feelings, and the speaker has to cultivate his mind as well as his voice. In public speaking, as in most things in life, the old saying that "Knowledge is power" holds good. Nothing impresses an audience more than the sense that the speaker has a thorough knowledge of his subject. Yet mere knowledge will not suffice and cannot be communicated to others unless it has been thoroughly digested by the speaker. It is not enough to know; one has to arrange one's knowledge in a rational and orderly manner, easily communicable to others. Hence the speaker has to think clearly before he can speak clearly. If he has not thought clearly about his subject, his thoughts will grow confused and unintelligible to the audience, and he will conceal cloudy thought in a multitude of words.

For instance, if one has to speak on the subject of Railways, it would be courting failure to try to pack into a speech all one has ever read or experienced about railways. A little thinking is necessary to determine how one would present one's thoughts on Railways in a manner that the audience would follow easily. Such reflection might lead one to deal with the subject in the following manner—(a) the beginning of railways and their effect on transport, (b) their present importance, and (c) how they are likely to be affected by inventions and other forms of travelling in the future—or other approaches might suggest themselves. In any case the speaker must deal with his subject in a clear, orderly fashion. The habit of clear thinking implies that one is constantly extending one's stock of knowledge, assimilating what is newly learned, and keeping one's thoughts on any subject grouped in a clear and logical order. This is part of the speaker's general preparation for his task, and must be constantly practised if he is to speak with clarity and effect.

MUNITIONING THE MIND WITH FACTS

KNOWLEDGE is power, but no man can have an inexhaustible store of knowledge stored up in his mind. Sometimes you may be invited to speak on a subject on which you are not an authority. As a rule, if you read widely, you will have a few ideas on the subject which will be helpful, but not sufficient. How then are you going to acquire information quickly? Probably the handiest system is to keep a file of newspaper and periodical cuttings, supplemented by a bibliography of authoritative introductions to various subjects. By this means you can quickly gather material for a speech. At the same time it is not wise to rely exclusively on such external aids, for one of the speaker's greatest assets is a

retentive memory. Unfortunately there is always the common complaint, "I have such a bad memory." It might be more true to say, "My memory is bad because I have never taken any particular trouble to develop it."

The range of most people's memory is larger than they imagine, because they are seldom in the habit of disturbing its contents. Think hard enough and you will find yourself recalling things you imagined you had forgotten. Then if you wish to remember some facts or ideas you come across in your reading, read the passage slowly, re-read it, pause, and give it time to sink into your mind. The memory must not be overworked. It requires a little time to digest information. A further aid to the memory is the habit of taking notes. "Writing maketh an exact man," said Bacon, and there is sound, practical sense in this maxim, as the speaker who tries it will discover.

HOW TO PREPARE A SPEECH

CL^EAR thinking, well-directed reading, methodical habits of acquiring information, and the training of the memory are all part of the speaker's general preparation for his task. But how is he to set about the preparation of a particular subject? A great deal depends upon the amount of time the speaker has at his disposal. Let us assume that he has been given timely notice and has a reasonable period in which to prepare his speech. What the speaker should *not* do is immediately to sit down at his desk and write out his speech. He would be better advised to take a few days in which to turn over the subject in his mind. He will find that ideas occur to him about the subject as he reflects on it; he will remember passages he has read on the subject.

Ideas beget ideas, and if the speaker allows his mind time to work he will soon find it supplying the material for his speech. Suppose he has to speak on the subject of "Nationalism." As his mind plays on the subject he will try to define nationalism; he will remember how other writers have defined it; he will recall examples in history of nationalist movements, and surveying the modern world he will try to estimate the influence of national sentiment in international politics. Other aspects of his subject will occur to the speaker also. He may contrast nationalism with internationalism, inquire if they are incompatible or not, and decide whether he is to speak in favour of nationalism or condemn it. All sorts of ideas will rise into the speaker's mind in connection with his subject. In the inspiration of the moment all may seem equally important, but some selection has to be made. A useful plan adopted by many speakers is to write down each idea on a page of a loose-leaf notebook as it occurs to the mind. Then when the period of reflection is over and the speaker has to make a draft of his speech, he finds himself with a number of ideas which he has to sift. The most important ideas have to be selected and arranged in order of importance, generally on a rising scale of cogency. Thus, the speaker has prepared his speech in skeleton form.

The next task is to clothe this skeleton with flesh and blood, which means that using the selected ideas as his headings the speaker will now write out his speech in full. In doing so he must keep in mind the

fact that "talking" style is different from writing style, being usually plainer, simpler, and more straightforward. So in writing out your speech you must try to write as you speak, and not in the style in which you would compose an article for publication, and this is by no means easy for those more accustomed to write than to speak. After you have written out your speech you will naturally read it over several times to impress it on your memory. Whether you memorise it literally or not depends upon your experience. If you want to be on the safe side you can either read your speech, if it is a lecture, or memorise it literally, if it is for a political meeting, where it is not customary to read speeches.

FIRST THOUGHTS AND FINAL TOUCHES

THE ambitious speaker will not restrict himself to either of these courses. He knows that reading a speech had definite disadvantages. The voice tends to be uniform and monotonous when the speaker relies upon his manuscript, and the speech lacks the intimate personal appeal of one spoken directly. There is a real difference between a reader and a speaker. On the other hand, the speaker who trusts to verbal memorising is losing the benefit of the inspiration of the moment. Sometimes the presence of the audience and their reactions can stimulate him to find better expression for his thoughts than he has been able to do in his study. That is not to say that he can rise to his feet with a few ideas in his mind, and trust to the right words coming to express these ideas. Far from it, the major part of his speech will already have been composed, but if the speaker is alert and in sympathy with his audience he can see opportunities of carrying off a little happy improvisation.

Preparation must be exact and thorough, but there is no need for the speech to be cast in a rigid and flexible form. What most speakers find sufficient, after writing out their speech, is to make an analysis of it, writing down the principal headings, with a few supplementary notes, which gives them a good enough framework for their speech. With practice it even becomes unnecessary to write out the speech in full. It is generally enough to prepare an outline, and the details can be filled in in the mind without going to the trouble of writing them out.

During the preparation of a speech it is a good idea to think about the speech in the actual posture in which it will be delivered—that is to say, on the feet, and walking about. Movement provides a wonderful stimulus to the mind, and in that attitude ideas and language seem to come in the vivid, arresting manner suitable for reproducing in speech. Charles Dickens, whose lectures were almost as popular as his novels, used to go for a brisk walk in the morning, during which he would decide upon the various heads of his lecture. It is essential to remind oneself constantly that one is not drafting a literary composition, but material for interesting, convincing, and persuading a number of people.

In regard to the actual structure of the speech it is doubtful if one can lay down hard-and-fast rules. It is sometimes asserted that a speech should consist of an introduction, the argument under three main headings, and a conclusion. Admittedly this is quite a convenient arrangement, but every subject does not lend itself to division into three

parts. At the same time it is inadvisable to bring out too many ramifications of a subject, for there is a limit to the audience's capacity of following the speaker's thoughts. If we examine the sermons of John Wesley, we shall see that Wesley almost invariably dealt with his text under three aspects, and he was a master of popular preaching. It is better to explain a few main points fully than to exhaust every aspect of a subject. Whether the speech be constructed under three, four, or even five headings does not greatly matter so long as the order is logical and natural. For the skilful speaker handles his subject so easily, that the structure of his speech is concealed from the audience, although but for the scaffolding the finished article would not be so impressive.

It may be thought that the business of speech preparation is unduly fatiguing. In reality it sounds worse than it actually is. No musician or artist will grudge the pains necessary to acquire technical efficiency in music and painting. Neither should the public speaker. But again, preparation is only trying for the beginner. The experienced public speaker finds that the work of preparation becomes almost mechanical. As soon as he knows his subject he begins to cast it into the required shape, and he experiences no great difficulty in finding appropriate language to express his thoughts. Yet no speaker becomes so perfect as to be able to dispense with the work of preparation, which is the key to success in public speaking. It may be popularly supposed that practised speakers can "think on their feet," but the experience of all great orators contradicts it. Even Pitt, Disraeli, and Bright had to spend hours in the preparation of their speeches, although their knowledge and eloquence surpassed that of most men who have spoken in public.

THE SPEAKER'S STORE OF WORDS

THE public speaker desires not only to convey his ideas to the audience, but to speak with ease and fluency. And to speak with fluency he needs to have an abundant supply of words. The vocabulary we use in conversation is normally very limited, and quite insufficient for the public speaker, part of whose business is to express the same thought in different ways. In reading it is not easy to grasp a new thought straight away; we have to go back and re-read the passage. Obviously the audience cannot do this, and there is no reason to believe that we absorb spoken thoughts more readily than written ones. What the speaker has to do is to repeat his main thoughts to ensure that they are impressed on the mind of his audience, but he has to conceal his repetition by using different language. How is he to increase his vocabulary so that he has never to hesitate and rack his brains to find the right word? How are thoughts and their appropriate expression to rise in the mind together?

The principal method of extending our vocabulary is to read with discrimination. While we read our faculty of self-expression is being insensibly enlarged, and new words become familiar. Of course, it is best to restrict our reading to those writers or orators who are acknowledged masters of language, so that we acquire not only new words but a perception of their right use and their rhythmical arrangement. For

it is futile to attempt to acquire isolated words, as we do by learning lists of vocabularies, because we do not speak words but phrases. Hence reading by itself is only part of the process of enlarging the stock of words we have at our command. In this way we acquire a vocabulary *passively*, but for the speaker an *active* process is necessary also. He has not only to know the meaning of words but to practise saying them as well, and using them in a phrase, so that they recur readily to the mind when they are required. Thus it is of more value to be able to use "significance" in appropriate phrases, such as "a fact of the utmost significance," than to know all the meanings given by the dictionary for this word. Reading and compiling phrases is probably the best way of increasing our vocabulary, but another helpful method is to take a word and think of synonyms we could substitute for it. Thus for "destination" we could substitute "goal" or "terminus."

THE MAGIC POWER OF WORDS

WORDS to the public speaker are what canvas and paint are to the painter. With them he has to express himself, with them he has to influence other people. Unless he is aware of the full power and magic of words he will never get the best effects from his speeches. For words are more than conventional symbols; embedded in them there is a wealth of suggestion and emotion. They have been created to express human emotions; they are so interwoven with human experience that they suggest far more to the mind than their literal meaning. They have a life of their own, sometimes rich and colourful, but sometimes emaciated through gross over-use. All this power of suggestion they have in addition to their musical appeal. The great orator exploits this suggestive power of words. He uses words not only to convey his ideas to the audience, but also to arouse their feelings by their emotional appeal. When Lloyd George declared: *The blinds of Britain are not down yet*, he knew the solemn associations of death that would be aroused in the minds of his hearers by these words. He knew that he would arouse the feeling of profound thankfulness and triumph in the value of life that comes to the mind of those who have seen Death's coming averted. Similarly, it is common to find in the speeches of great orators phrases drawn from the Bible which are simply charged with emotion because they are associated with memorable events.

Then some words are especially vivid and suggestive of colour. "Scarlet" is more suggestive of splendour than "red"; "romance" will unlock the gates of the imagination. To sway the emotions of men the language of the speaker must be vivid and suggestive, and to acquire language of this kind he will do well to study the poets, and especially those, like Keats, who have possessed the faculty of word-painting in a signal degree. From the study of poetry also he will learn how to use metaphor with the utmost effect, although the public speaker necessarily has to restrict his range of metaphor more narrowly than the poet. It would be useless to employ metaphors drawn from sources likely to be unfamiliar to the audience, but well-chosen metaphors can raise a speech to a high level of emotional appeal. Consider this famous passage from

a speech by John Bright : *The Angel of Death has been abroad throughout the land ; you may almost hear the very beating of his wings. There is no one to sprinkle with blood the lintel and the side-post of our doors, that he may spare and pass on ; but he calls at the castle of the noble, the mansion of the wealthy, equally as at the cottage of the humble, and it is on behalf of all these classes that I make this solemn appeal.* Here is a metaphor of almost unparalleled vividness. The Angel of Death is a personification that arouses feelings of awe, but the personification is given tremendous force by the simple, arresting sentence : *you may almost hear the beating of his wings.*

The above extract from Bright will also illustrate another virtue of public speaking, namely, the use of concrete language. Bright might have said : " but he calls on the noble and the wealthy, equally with the poor," but he knew that " noble," " wealthy," and " poor " are vague words. So he adds " castle," " mansion," and " cottage " in order that his listeners may have a definite picture in their mind to reinforce the meaning of his words. As a rule, concrete language is always to be preferred to abstract in public speaking. Abstract language is either meaninglessly vague or unintelligible to the majority of people. Familiarity with abstract language is a fruit of a long, academic education. Therefore it is better to refer to William Wallace or a particular patriot than to speak of patriotism, or to St. Francis of Assisi than to speak of saintliness or charity. The following passage from a speech by Lord Rosebery will illustrate the merits of concrete language : *There is no conceivable weather which will suit every crop, and so farmers look on all weathers with impartial foreboding. What may secure a harvest may ruin roots ; what may swell a swede may drown an oat. Innumerable diseases haunt animals and crops. A poisonous beast may taint the cattle of a nation ; a sick potato may starve a race.* Far better to talk of swedes and oats than of agriculture in general !

FACE TO FACE WITH THE AUDIENCE

IF the speaker has prepared his speech well, half the battle will have been won. But in the actual delivery of the speech there are some points the observance of which may mean all the difference between success and failure. Preparation will not help you if you look the picture of abject misery when you have to rise to your feet after the Chairman's introductory remarks. Inwardly you may be feeling nervous, but you must assume an air of confidence. In nine cases out of ten the audience will be perfectly friendly, and even in the tenth case, such as a political meeting, your supporters will outnumber your opponents. The audience have come specially to hear you. Consequently there is no need for you to look or feel apologetic, any more than you need feel cocksure. You want to make as good an impression on the audience as possible. So rise to your feet smartly, hold yourself erect, and look around the audience in a frank and friendly manner. Indicate by your bearing that you are sure of yourself, and that you want to be on friendly terms with your audience.

How you bear yourself before you begin to speak is important, because the audience will already be forming an opinion of you. If you

are afraid to look at your audience, and show that you are embarrassed, the audience will feel uncomfortable also. If you get to your feet in an energetic manner and look round confidently, your hearers will be impressed by your personality. How you bear yourself will also affect the manner in which you speak. Place one foot slightly in front of the other and throw your weight on the foot that is behind. This stiffening of the rear leg will have the effect of controlling the nerves by bringing strong muscles into play and thus preventing the familiar feeling of sagging at the knees. The shoulders should be held well back to give the lungs a chance to expand. In common courtesy the hands should be kept out of the pockets and left free for any gestures that may be needed.

FIRST CONTACTS WITH THE AUDIENCE

IT is well to begin rather slowly. The audience are anxious to hear you, but their minds have all been occupied by different thoughts, and you have to concentrate their attention on the subject of your speech. In other words, you have to create a mass mind to which you address your remarks. You are not speaking to Mr. Smith, or Mr. Jones, or Mr. Brown, but to somebody who is Mr. Smith-cum-Jones-cum-Brown. They sink their separate identities into this mass mind which you form by the concentration of all their attention on you. Hence the good speaker moves the whole body of his audience; the bad speaker irritates each member of the audience separately. The audience like to forget themselves in their response to the speaker. As a matter of courtesy it is customary to begin by making some reference to the opening remarks of the chairman, and by expressing your pleasure at receiving this invitation to address the meeting. If you are speaking in a strange locality, you will arouse the good feelings of your hearers by referring to the associations of the place or the achievements of its inhabitants. If you are speaking in your own locality, you can refer to the work of the particular organisation or association which has invited you to speak. This introduction need not be too flattering nor prolonged too much, but if it is done gracefully and courteously you will have established contact with your audience. The occasion of your speech will determine your opening remarks, but try to make them include all the audience, either as citizens of the same locality, members of the same association, etc.

In 1878, when a banquet was given in honour of Disraeli, that statesman began his reply to the toast of "Our Guest" in the following terms :

My Lord Duke and Gentlemen : I am sure you will acquit me of affectation if I say it is not without emotion that I have received this expression of your goodwill and sympathy. When I look around this chamber I see the faces of some who entered public life with myself, as my noble friend the noble Duke has reminded me, more than forty years ago ; I see more whose entrance into public life I witnessed when I had myself gained some experience of it ; and, lastly, I see those who have only recently entered upon public life, and whom it has been my duty and delight to encourage and counsel. . . .

Note the admirable courtesy of this opening with its allusion to the chairman's remarks, its expression of gratitude, and its inclusion of all present.

An unconventional opening will sometimes succeed in attracting the attention of the audience from the very start. For instance, the Rev. Thomas De Witt Talmage, a famous American lecturer, began one of his speeches by saying : *The man who never made a blunder has not yet been born. If he had been he would have died right away. The first blunder was born in Paradise, and it has had a large family of children. . . .* You can either please your audience by a courteous opening, or you can arouse their attention by thought-provoking remarks, but you should have your introduction carefully prepared. If it is received well you can proceed to the rest of your speech with increased confidence.

SINCERITY : THE CORNER-STONE OF PUBLIC SPEAKING

Now that you have begun well, what you have to do is to maintain the interest of the audience, and in some cases to persuade them to share your convictions. If your ideas are clear and follow one another logically they will captivate the interest of your audience, an interest which will increase if your language is well chosen. Try to paint word pictures and thus appeal to the mental vision of your hearers. Let your language be vivid and glowing and their imaginations will catch fire. But your style of speaking will only be effective if it is a true reflection of your personality. Public speaking does not begin and end with the use of the voice. It is an activity in which the whole person is engaged. To be really convincing you have to throw your whole heart and mind into the task. Do not be afraid to let the audience see that you are enthusiastic about your subject, for if you are not genuinely interested, how can you interest others? Above all, you have to be *sincere*. Sincerity is the corner-stone of public speaking. Even a man who offends against all the laws of good speaking, if he is intensely sincere, will impress an audience more than the man who speaks platitudes glibly and charmingly. And sincerity in speaking means being true to yourself, having the courage to express your own thoughts, and to speak in your own way without imitating some popular and polished orator. "To thine own self be true" might well be taken as a fundamental law for the public speaker.

THE DIGNITY OF SIMPLE WORDS

If you are sincere you will express whatever personality you have, and it is this indefinable personality that most impresses an audience. Neither the quality of the voice nor the thoughts nor the language of great speakers provides the clue to the secret of their success, which is to be found in their capacity to express their personality. Everybody has in a greater or less degree a personality which they can develop for platform work. The best way of developing your personality is to let it develop itself. Forget about yourself and concentrate on your subject, and your personality will emerge in full measure. Being yourself on the platform means that you must be natural. Speak in a style which is native to you, and do not try to cultivate the accent or manner of outstanding speakers. They have attained their success by expressing themselves. If you deserve success, you will attain it by the same means. If not,

you will have to be content with what measure of success you do achieve.

Trying to be natural will probably lead you to speak in a direct and plain style. As a rule the simpler your language the better. Simple language can have a dignity and rhythm of its own, and besides will be more fitted to express your thoughts than grandiloquent phrases. In proposing a vote of thanks there is no need to talk about "the pleasant duty or rather privilege which is imposed upon me of expressing our indebtedness to Mr. So-and-so . . ." It is more sensible to say : "We are all very grateful to Mr. So-and-so. . . ." One of the most famous speeches ever delivered, Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Oration, contains out of a total of 267 words, 200 of one syllable—a remarkable illustration of the virtue of simple language. At the same time there is no point in trying to use only plain Anglo-Saxon words, as some speakers advise. A word is not necessarily to be avoided because it is long. Many long words are quite familiar to the average person, although he does not habitually use them in conversation. It is a mistake to think that words we do not commonly use are not familiar. Whether your vocabulary is predominantly Anglo-Saxon or Latinised is of no great moment, so long as you express yourself naturally and clearly.

What prevents many persons from attaining their full stature as public speakers is their inability to let themselves go. They are so afraid of becoming ridiculous that they hesitate to vary their voice or to move a muscle. Do not be afraid. You will never be ridiculous, as long as you are sincere, even if you shriek and saw the air with your hands. Not that such paroxysms of feeling are to be encouraged, but they are no worse than remaining absolutely immobile.

PITCH AND PAUSE : THE PUNCTUATION OF ORATORY

YOU must vary the voice if you are not to become monotonous and if you are to express yourself properly. Besides variation of the voice is necessary to produce emphasis. If you want to emphasise a phrase, speak it slowly and deliberately, perhaps in a lower, intenser pitch than you have been using. The change in the inflection of your voice will arrest the attention of the audience. From the fact that it is spoken in a different pitch they will remember the phrase you want to emphasise more easily. Then pause for a few seconds to give their minds time to absorb that phrase. By this device you can make a point stick in their minds. But be careful not to overdo emphasis. If you emphasise every other phrase, you will meet with the same fate as the boy in the story who cried "Wolf!" too often. Too many speakers have a trick of making comparatively unimportant remarks in an emphatic tone. They forget that emphasis is only possible when it occurs so seldom that the audience is attracted by the change in the speaker's voice.

There are other occasions on which you will find it necessary to alter the pitch and pace of your voice. If you have some solemn and earnest thoughts to offer, or if you have to quote a passage of that nature, lower the pitch of your voice and reduce the pace. On the other hand, passages of an exciting or dramatic nature will be spoken in a higher pitch and

at an accelerated speed. When you are describing anything or relating an anecdote you should talk at a normal, conversational pace. A slower, more deliberate pace will be called for when you are presenting ideas of some difficulty, or when you have to expound abstract thoughts.

THE USE AND ABUSE OF GESTURE

FURTHER variety will be given to your speech by a judicious use of gesture. Gesture is not so fashionable as it was in the days when preachers made the boards of the pulpit shiver under the impact of their closed fists. No doubt it is wise to refrain from thumping the table, as it makes hearing more difficult for the audience. Yet gesture well done adds to the effectiveness of a speech. It is essential, however, that it should neither be forced nor exaggerated. Do not do it simply because you feel it is expected of you. Wait until you find yourself making gestures spontaneously, naturally, and rhythmically. Make gestures when they are appropriate, but never gesticulate, is the best advice that could be given on this point. The mistake in overdoing gesture is that it distracts the audience, who find it impossible to watch a man sawing the air with his hands and to attend to his words at the same time.

Gesture is part of the dramatic side of public speaking, and this side is by no means unimportant. In a sense the public speaker is an actor, for he is doing something which is not quite natural, and he appeals to people through the same medium of personality. Hence when your subject lends itself to dramatic expression, you need not hesitate to be dramatic in tone and bearing. Yet there is a difference between being theatrical and being dramatic which you must observe. Being theatrical implies that you are making use of studied insincerity. You are trusting to external aids and acquired graces to achieve what you cannot do naturally. Being dramatic, on the other hand, simply means that you are making use of your whole body and personality to express something which you genuinely feel, and it is a perfectly legitimate device in public speaking. Indeed, great orators are like great actors who live their parts. By the lifting of an eyebrow, by a single gesture, they may convey more than an ordinary speaker could do in a laboured passage.

LOGIC THAT CONVINCES AND PASSION THAT COMPELS

YOU may interest the audience by your style, and the influence of your personality may be contagious, but to produce a lasting effect your appeal has to be well directed. There are roughly three ways of appealing to an audience—to their intellect, to their sentiments, and to their emotions. Of these the first is the most difficult, as people are reluctant to be convinced, whereas they enjoy being moved. Yet some speakers endowed with penetrating, logical minds can impress an audience by their superb marshalling of facts and the irrefutable inferences they can draw from these facts. Lord Oxford and Asquith was a master of this type of oratory, which demands high gifts in the speaker, and is rather difficult to carry off in front of a popular audience. This appeal to the intellect must be present in some degree in a speech if it is not

to be merely shallow, but most speakers have found it better to appeal to the sentiments of the audience as well.

Sentiment differs from emotion in that it is a more fixed trait of our character. The difference may be exemplified by saying that the sight of a child being thrashed would excite an emotion of indignation, whereas the thought of cruelty to children is distasteful because it jars on our sentiments of pity and love. In other words, sentiment is crystallised emotion. There are many sentiments to which the speaker can appeal, such as patriotism, loyalty, honour, and love. The speaker takes for granted certain moral standards, by virtue of which he can justify himself or his party, and for the infringement of which he can condemn his opponents. Thus the political speaker appeals to the sentiment of patriotism by inferring that his party have the interests of the country most deeply at heart, and that the other party is too prone to think their own country always in the wrong. As man does not live by intellect alone this type of oratory which appeals to the sentiments equally with the intellect has probably the most enduring effect. Its greatest exponents in modern times are speakers like Stanley Baldwin and Winston Churchill.

A MOVING APPEAL TO THE HEART

THE appeal to the emotions, which is difficult to separate entirely from the appeal to the sentiments, has the greatest immediate effect, although it may soon wear off. To exercise this appeal the speaker needs a magnetic personality and a magical power of awakening the imagination of his hearers by the vividness of his language. He will not ask them if a certain course of action is right. He will describe in lively and concrete fashion the misery involved in refusing to adopt his policy, and the happiness that would attend its acceptance. Thus a vivid description of conditions in the slums by a social reformer would excite emotions of horror in the breasts of his audience, while his outline of the conditions of life possible under a better social system would inspire emotions of hope and furnish spurs to endeavour. The orator who can appeal to the emotions of his audience can sway them at his will, but the effects of heady oratory often wear off the morning after. In this field of oratory Lloyd George stands alone among modern speakers, but James Maxton by his obvious sincerity makes a deep impression on his audiences, and even when the emotional effect wears off he retains their lasting respect.

If you have started well, if you have held your audience's attention by the lucid development of your thoughts, by the simplicity of your language, and by the varied effects of your voice, you will want to make sure that the final impression is lasting. And the part of your speech that will remain most clearly in the audience's mind is the closing passage or peroration. For this reason it should be prepared with great care. It is the climax of your speech. Everything else has led up to the peroration. Let it provide the finishing touch to your speech. You can in a few brief strokes sum up your arguments and draw the conclusion, or you can suddenly raise the whole subject to a higher level. In any case the peroration must contain of your best. It must be as exalted in

thought, as eloquent in language, and as moving as you can make it. It should never be left to chance or to the inspiration of the moment. Bright records that he invariably wrote out and memorised his peroration. Pitch it in as high a key of eloquence as you can, and it will ring in the ears of your audience when you have sat down, and be recalled long afterwards.

TWO NOBLE EXAMPLES OF THE PERORATION

SUCH a memorable close is often found in the utterances of great Speakers. Lord Oxford and Asquith closed his Rectorial Address on "Culture" to the students of Aberdeen University in the following vein :

Keep always with you, whatever your course may be, the best and most enduring gift that a University can bestow—the company of great thoughts, the inspiration of great ideals, the example of great achievements, the consolation of great failures. So equipped, you can face without perturbation the buffets of circumstance, the caprice of fortune, the inscrutable vicissitudes of life. Nor can you do better than take as your motto the famous words which I read over the portals of this college when I came here to-day : "They have said. What say they? Let them say."

In this peroration we have profound wisdom of thought and noble eloquence united with a fine tact that weaves into the speech an appropriate reference to something familiar to and cherished by his hearers.

Again, from the conclusion of a sermon by Dr. Temple, Archbishop of York, preached in 1932 on the occasion of the Disarmament Conference, we can gather what a peroration ought to be.

We must lift up our eyes from the task before us and fix them on the King of Love, as He claims the nations for His own, as He submits Himself to torture at men's hands for very love of them, as He tests our loyalty with the words, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples that ye love one another." From Him we shall draw the passion of love and the courage to take risks for love's sake. For He is the Head of the Body, and only with Him do we become effectually what in truth we are by nature—members one of another. We kneel once more before the Cross, then rise to march together, an Army drawn from all nations but obedient to one Captain, we set forth on the new Crusade—the crusade of love and joy and peace.

The kind of public speaking that has taken greatest hold of the popular imagination is the political speech, not because people are particularly interested in politics, but because it is from the political platform that, with the possible exception of the pulpit and the bar, we hear the most persuasive eloquence. Most historic speeches have been made on political subjects, and even in these days of cheap and influential newspapers, the influence of political speaking is still strong. Indeed, the advent of the wireless has restored the voice of the politician to its former power as an instrument for influencing the minds of the people. The figure of the political orator makes an enormous appeal to the people because in their heart of hearts their admiration of him is mingled with envy. How they would like to possess this power of gripping a whole audience and playing upon its emotions !

If it is on political subjects that the finest speeches are made, if politicians have best mastered the art of influencing people by means of the voice, it must be admitted also that there is a good deal of charlatanism in political speaking as well. Especially is this the case with politicians who have to depend on the support of a majority of their fellow-countrymen. Human nature being what it is, they are tempted not to lead the people but to let the people lead them. In other words, they find out what the people want and give it to them. Their political speeches become infected with cheap propaganda devices, and their language grows more and more extravagantly rhetorical. Great speakers as Mussolini and Hitler are, they exploit many of the tricks of the demagogue—that is, the man who appeals to the emotions and sentiments of the people, knowing that this method is easier than appealing to the intellect, the bulk of men being thoroughly irrational. In any public meeting addressed by a prominent politician there is always a little stage management. Members of the party file on to the platform, and then last of all the expectant audience see the great man enter. But the prestige which surrounds Mussolini and Hitler as the Duce and the Führer respectively makes their very appearance an event. The military atmosphere of their meetings, acclamations on entrance by the crowd, footlights playing on the Leader, all create an atmosphere of mass suggestion which the central figure can exploit. Then the main appeal of both Mussolini and Hitler lies in the positive feelings they arouse in their audience. They appeal to the deep-seated sentiment of patriotism which has been assiduously cultivated by the movements they lead. They make their hearers conscious of their own worth as members of a great and powerful nation, and rouse their indignation at the humiliating treatment their nation has received at the hands of internal traitors and external foes. Their speeches are phrased in language of almost religious colour and fervour. Although they illustrate the worst features of mass oratory, the speeches of Mussolini and Hitler also illustrate the enormous power of public speaking and the potency of a strong appeal to positive sentiments.

POINTS FOR THE POLITICAL SPEAKER

THE speeches of political spell-binders are interesting to the student of public speaking, but they form a rather dangerous model for the average speaker. Most of what has been said about speeches in general will apply to political speeches, but they are different in some details. Perhaps more than on other occasions confidence is demanded on the part of the speaker, who, as he professes to be a leader, must look like one. Moreover, he has not only to inform and interest people but to convince them that his policy is the right one. There will be a number of political opponents in the audience whose confidence in their position he has to shake. The conversion of any of these opponents would be a real triumph for his capacity to present arguments in speech. Besides, the bulk of the audience may not be interested in politics in general. What they will probably want to hear is how the policy advocated by the speaker will affect their livelihood. If the meeting is held in the

country, the audience will want to know what his party proposes to do about agriculture. On the other hand, the speaker addressing a town audience will have to speak at some length on the benefits that will accrue to the industry of that neighbourhood if his party is returned to power. There is a practical side to politics which can be expanded with advantage.

The political speaker is obliged to criticise the policy of his opponents, preferably the policy and not his opponents themselves. Indulging in personalities is merely bad taste and brings no benefit to the speaker in the way of higher estimation on the part of the audience. But he is justified in criticising the policy of his opponents, though it is a mistake to devote an inordinately long part of the speech to this purpose. Destructive criticism is sometimes salutary, but the people prefer a constructive policy. The speaker should spike the guns of opponents, but his eagerness in this pursuit should not blind him to the fact that his own policy requires proof and cannot be accepted on his word.

BRINGING A BROAD MIND TO BEAR ON TANGLED ISSUES

AFTER the usual introductory courtesies the political speaker should give a brief description of the subject with which he is going to deal. Suppose he is going to talk on agriculture. He will review the state of agriculture, emphasise its importance, and say that its prosperity concerns all of us. Then he may inquire what the other party is doing or proposes to do for agriculture. No doubt this party is sincere, but their policy is inadequate or impracticable, as he can prove because a similar policy has been tried before or in another country and has failed. Therefore it is futile to expect anything from the other party. What then has the speaker's party to offer? He outlines what his party has done or will do, when it has the power. But is this policy adequate and practicable? Yes, for he can prove it by citing examples of countries who have found this policy eminently successful. However, their opponents have advanced certain criticisms with which he will now deal. All these criticisms are refuted with perhaps a little gentle ridicule of the short-sightedness of his opponents. The speaker's policy will stand criticism, because, as he goes on to show, it is in the interests of the nation as a whole, as well as of those whose interests are directly concerned. Nay, it will mean a big step towards the recovery of world prosperity, and is one of the few things that inspire hope for the future, he declares in his peroration, leaving the audience with a sense of moral as well as intellectual satisfaction. A political speech planned along these lines tempers destructive criticism with a constructive policy, refutes the objections of opponents, and convinces the audience that the speaker is an honest man who can see both sides of the question, but has chosen the right one.

SPIKING THE HECKLER'S GUNS

INTERRUPTIONS are not unknown at other meetings, but the political speaker is most likely to be faced with this difficulty. The heckler who reserves his queries for question time adds spice to the meeting, but there is a variety of hardened heckler who is apt to make a running

commentary on your speech, and who is always on the look out for a chance of throwing the speaker out of his stride by a well-timed interjection. You are not bound to answer questions hurled at you in the course of your speech, and by calmly ignoring the remarks of an interrupter you may induce him to lapse into silence. Sometimes a request to wait until question time will be effective. But the persistent heckler must be dealt with, if you do not want your audience distracted. A heckler of this type is usually a witty fellow and if you give him enough scope the audience will soon be waiting too eagerly for his next witticism to pay attention to your remarks. Deal with him briefly and crushingly. Pause and gaze straight at him. He will usually be a little disconcerted to find the attention of the audience focused on him. Then answer his question blandly, contriving to make the question seem that of a stupid person blessed with no mother-wit. Or if you have the gift of repartee, allow him a little rope before you suddenly turn on him and silence him, by a piercing retort. Whatever you do, never get flurried nor lose your temper. There is a story of John Wilkes, the eighteenth-century political figure, which gives a good example of wit in repartee. Wilkes, while making an electoral speech, was subjected to much heckling by a certain man in the crowd. Finally, when Wilkes had reached the climax of an impassioned appeal, setting forth the reasons why his hearers should vote for him, the heckler shouted: *I'd rather vote for the devil*. Wilkes turned to him and said blandly: *Yes, my good man, but suppose the devil wasn't standing?* thus implying that the man was a self-confessed admirer of the devil and all he stood for, and that the fiend was his first choice as candidate.

Even if you get the worst of a duel of wit with a heckler, accept your defeat good-humouredly. A display of temper antagonises the audience and may mean serious trouble. If someone at the back yells *Speak up!* do not get annoyed but act upon his advice, although it may not be politely given. If the shouts of "Speak up" are evidently meant to annoy you, take a leaf out of the book of a Parliamentary candidate who calmly replied to an interrupter of this type: *I do not propose to raise my voice, because I think the ears of the man who is interrupting are quite long enough to hear at that distance*. In a meeting likely to be troublesome avoid rhetorical questions, for they expose the speaker to unwelcome retorts. Ten to one he will be met with loud cries of *No!* when he expects the audience mentally to answer his rhetorical question in the affirmative. His fate may resemble that of the speaker whose rhetorical question: *What do I stand here for to-day?* was met with the reply *God knows!* The political speaker is most likely to suffer from troublesome hearers. Occasionally speakers in other meetings have to deal with inattentive members of the audience who carry on a whispered conversation about their private affairs. It is a mistake to ignore such people. Look straight in their direction and talk at them. They will be so surprised by this unusual attention that they will stop their conversation. However, before scoring off restive members of the audience, make sure that the trouble is not with yourself. You may be trying the patience of some of your audience by speaking inaudibly. Try to be certain that they are behaving with wanton mischief before you squash them.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE LECTURER

THE lecture is a form of public speaking which has attained increasing popularity, although the name "lecture" itself is forbidding. In spite of its formal sound, the lecture has become more and more a kind of public entertainment rather than the transmission of knowledge on serious subjects. True, there still remains the University type of lecture, and the learned lecture delivered by a student of any subject to fellow-experts. In this learned type of lecture the speaker can take the interest of his listeners for granted. The matter of his lecture, the ideas and information contained in it, are the main thing, while the manner is of less importance, provided that he is neither inaudible nor incoherent.

For the popular type of lecture—that is, one delivered before an audience composed of people of different occupations, and widely different in their education and cultural attainments—a great deal more attention has to be paid to the manner of speaking. Popular lectures may be delivered on all sorts of subjects—travel, history, economics, science, literature, art, etc., but whatever the subject the work of preparation has to be done carefully. The difficulty of preparing a lecture is not so much dividing it up into convenient sections, as deciding where to begin, how far to go into the subject, and what to leave out. You have to estimate how much your audience will know, because you do not want to weary them by repeating commonplace facts. Yet if you assume they know these facts, and they do not, then they will perhaps lose the point of your lecture for want of this knowledge you have taken for granted. If you think it desirable to repeat something that is common knowledge, do it tactfully, suggesting that they know it already but that you are refreshing their memories. The manner of Augustine Birrell in an address on Burke might well be emulated: *You all know Burke's "Thoughts on the Present Discontents." You remember—it is hard to forget—his speech on Conciliation with America.* . . . For a lecturer, tact is an indispensable quality. He is talking to grown-up people who cannot be treated as school children. They may be neither intelligent nor well informed, but they like people to treat them as such.

PUTTING THE AUDIENCE IN A GOOD HUMOUR

STYLE in lecturing has grown more simple in recent years along with that of oratory in general. The ideal style for lecturing is a conversational one, and the lecturer who uses flowery language and rolling periods makes himself ridiculous. Times have changed; nowadays even the preacher descends from the pulpit manner of the past and chooses expressions that are easy and familiar. A lecture is not an occasion for an oratorical display. The task of the lecturer is to convey some information on his subject to his audience as pleasantly as possible. No doubt he will seldom deal with profound and intricate matters, but still his hearers, who have to digest some information, should not be distracted by the manner of the lecturer. As the point of a lecture is to impart "knowledge without tears," the speaker should spare no pains to interest

his hearers. If he has mechanical aids, so much the better. If not, he must do his best to paint vivid word pictures, to choose forcible illustrations for his theme, and to enliven it with the play of humour. An element of humour is always desirable in a lecture, but it has to be introduced with care. Sometimes a good deal of humour arises out of the subject. If the lecturer is describing a journey in a foreign country, he will be able to tell of quaint customs that will amuse his hearers. If his theme is the life of a great man, he will be able to make humorous capital out of his subject's misadventures and escapades. But there is a danger that ill-chosen humorous episodes will tend to make the subject look ridiculous. This should be avoided in a lecture, the tone of which should generally be appreciative. Anything like the ironic humour and sarcasm of Lytton Strachey would bewilder most audiences and make them uncomfortable.

Different subjects demand different approaches in lectures, but it is useful to keep in mind that in most subjects there is a distinction between what appeals to the specialist and what appeals to the ordinary man. The specialist is interested in the whole range of his subject, but especially in its theoretical implications, whereas the ordinary man is more interested in the practical implications of the subject. For instance, the ordinary man would be interested to hear a psychologist speak on "remembering and forgetting," or "fatigue," but he would probably be bored by a lecture on the "classification of instincts" or "the relation between instincts and emotions." Similarly a lecturer in economics would interest a popular audience by explaining to them why a particular industry had grown up in a particular town, but the audience would yawn if he attempted to explain the mysteries of high finance. Avoid, then, those parts of a subject that interest specialists mainly, and confine yourself to the discussion of those aspects of the subject that have practical significance for the average man.

SOME HINTS FOR TRAVEL LECTURES

IN the case of lectures on travel and historical subjects the speaker has a definite sequence of events to follow which facilitates his task. Take the audience on a journey with you through space or through time. You are acting as guide, but do not "patter." That is, do not treat the audience to rehashes of the usual touring article. You have visited the country and seen things with your own eyes. Describe the country as you saw it and forget what others are accustomed to say about it. The scenery of the country may have been very beautiful, but you are not a guide-book and cannot describe all the impressive scenes you have seen. Your stock of descriptive epithets will become exhausted along with your audience's capacity for visualisation. Even if your lecture is illustrated, a succession of scenery pieces tends to pall on the audience. By all means give them an idea of the character of the scenery of the country you have visited, but do not describe too many particular scenes. Diversify the lecture by describing the people, their manners, their outlook, their occupations, the towns you visited, and the humorous incidents that befell you. Generally an audience will be interested in

the lives and customs of the people, but some audiences show a decided interest in the animals of a country, especially of a country like Canada, or in Oriental countries.

A lecture on an historical subject may either consist of tracing the growth of a movement or institution, or of giving a bird's-eye view of a period. In the first case the lecturer will be largely involved in the history of politics, and he should be careful to give both sides of a question, because knowledge impresses an audience more when combined with large-mindedness. Then he will have an opportunity of painting word pictures of the remarkable personalities of the time, and of describing in a dramatic fashion the outstanding events. The lecturer who is dealing with a period, say the eighteenth century, has at once a more difficult and more interesting task. More difficult because he has not a definite sequence to follow and more interesting because the description of social life is the most intimate and attractive part of history. The lecturer has to use his imagination to realise how people lived in the eighteenth century, what topics they discussed, what were their morals, whether they were conventional churchgoers or enthusiastic evangelists, what books they read, how they furnished their houses, what sports they pursued, etc.—in fact, all the complex activities that make up social life. For the sake of clarity he had better discuss his subject under various headings, such as Politics, Religion, Manners, Pastimes, Occupations, Literature, etc. In a lecture of this type one feels that the practice of reading from contemporary writings is commendable. These writings are of the vintage of the period and bear a flavour which the lecturer cannot recapture. A recipe from an Elizabethan cookery-book speaks more of that age than an elaborate account of sixteenth-century ways of dining.

HOW NOT TO LECTURE ABOUT BURNS

A LECTURE on a literary subject gives the lecturer a chance of distinguishing himself, provided that he avoids any suspicion of pedantry. People may enjoy reading an author, and hearing a lecturer speak on that author, but they are not greatly interested to know that their author shows the "influence" of half a dozen others, that he borrowed a theme from one and a metrical scheme from another, and so forth. These considerations may titillate the minds of literary critics, but they are so much jargon to the uninitiated. Rightly or wrongly, what people want to know about literary figures are the story of their lives and the value of their writings, not from an artistic but a moral point of view. When the lecturer narrates the life-story of a man of letters, he should use the writer's own words occasionally if he has written an autobiography or an autobiographical fragment. Although the audience like to hear about the life of a writer, it is a mistake to dwell on the incidents of his career and give his writings short shrift, as is too often done by speakers on Burns. People do believe that a writer has a message for them, and the lecturer should certainly do his best to explain this message and estimate its value. It has to be added that a pernicious habit shown by some lecturers, and one to be avoided, is that of reading into an author's work one's own pet theories.



Man. Psych.

[*The Times*]

SPEAKING TO THE WORLD

The famous photograph of King George V., who was an outstanding speaker at the microphone, addressing millions of listeners throughout the empire.

The Chinese have a saying, "a picture is worth ten thousand words," with which most lecturers who have to talk to a mixed audience will agree. The attraction of even a good lecture is increased by pictorial illustrations, while one on a boring subject may be redeemed from failure by the same means. Great advances have been made in the mechanical aids at the disposal of lecturers. The old-fashioned magic-lantern has been replaced by the electric lantern which projects clearly defined pictures. Films are being used also to illustrate lectures, or even to form the basis of a lecture. Most speakers will prefer the electric lantern to the cinematograph. Slides for the lantern are costly to hire, but a great variety of them is available, and their use enables each picture to receive individual attention, which is not so with the film.

The lecturer who is using lantern-slides to illustrate his lecture must arrange them as carefully as his verbal matter. They must be arranged in the proper order, introduced at the right time, and every care should be taken to avoid operative mistakes. It may tickle the audience to see a man standing on his head, but it ruffles the lecturer's equanimity, and makes an unfortunate break in the atmosphere. When the lecturer is arranging his slides he should memorise the titles and say them as the pictures appear on the screen. Sometimes it is advisable also to prepare suitable phrases for introducing the pictures. Once the picture has appeared, the lecturer should avoid the capital error of turning to the screen and addressing it. All his remarks should be spoken directly to the audience. If he has to point to some detail of the picture, he should avert his eyes from the audience for only a few seconds.

AFTER-DINNER SPEAKING : THE BANQUET OF WIT

GOOD after-dinner speakers are rather rare, but they are always welcome when they do appear. For in the social atmosphere of a dinner a dull or stumbling speech is unspeakably boring. An after-dinner speech is delivered in an atmosphere quite different from that of speeches on other occasions. The people who hear it have not come to be instructed or persuaded. They know one another, because usually they are members of the same club, association, or whatever body is holding the dinner; they have also dined together. Therefore the atmosphere is friendly, intimate, and perhaps slightly convivial. And after enjoying a good dinner no one wants to be harangued. What they do want is to be amused by the sparkling wit of the speakers. The after-dinner speech is essentially a form of entertainment, and not a serious oration.

It is easier for a writer on after-dinner speaking to say what not to do than what to do. In the first place, do not be long-winded. Brevity is the soul of wit, and wit is the spice of after-dinner speaking. Probably there will be a good number of speakers at the dinner, and those present will be in no mood to listen to long speeches from any speaker. Besides, it is difficult to keep up a humorous bantering tone for very long, without showing signs of strain. Therefore, for your own sake as well as that of the audience, be brief. Serious subjects are generally barred in after-dinner speeches, save on exceptional occasions when the function is held

in aid of a charity. References to politics should be avoided, except perhaps for jocular references to the political complexion of any person present. If you do refer to serious subjects, treat them whimsically. Your theme will be given you by the toast which you propose or to which you have to reply. There is no need to develop your theme seriously. Use it as a starting-point for a speech full of humorous sallies and verbal witticisms.

Assuming that you are the guest of the evening, you will have to propose the toast of the body which is holding the dinner. Begin by saying that you have the honour to propose the toast of the society. Do not say baldly that you rise to propose the toast of the society. A little ceremony is expected when you propose the toast. Then go on to speak of the society and its work. If you are addressing a musical society, for instance, do not offend your hearers by saying casually that you happen to know nothing about music, but show an interest in the art that means so much to all present. You can treat the subject of your toast in a whimsical fashion, but do not disparage it.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE GOOD STORY

YOUR audience will expect to hear some good stories from you, but these stories will be better received if they bear directly on your theme. Thus, as you are addressing a musical society, your stories will refer to musicians and things musical, and it will be all the better if one, at least, of them pours ridicule on those who are deaf to the charms of music. But you should be careful about the manner in which you introduce your stories. Let them glide easily and naturally into your speech. It is merely clumsy to say, "That reminds me of a good story I heard." If the story is good, you need not say so. Leave the audience to judge its merits. It is enough to say: "Like the man who . . .," or something of that kind.

Personal reminiscences are always well received in an after-dinner speech, provided that they are relevant and recalled in a whimsical manner. Then flashes of wit will add sparkle to an after-dinner speech. This means that your style will be crisp and that occasionally you will introduce epigrams. All the better if your epigrams are formed by giving a familiar phrase a new twist by the introduction of the technical terms that are commonly used by your hearers. It was on account of the number and felicity of his epigrams that the late Lord Dewar achieved his unrivalled reputation as an after-dinner speaker. Of course, epigrams have to be invented beforehand, but the labour of composing them is well repayed by their effectiveness.

A further means of giving humorous point to an after-dinner speech is to chaff some of those present who are well known to the company. Provided that this banter is good-natured and kindly, it will be enjoyed by the rest of the audience and also by the victim. You may chaff a fellow-guest on his position or opinions, but not on his personal appearance, which would be bad form. Let the style of your speech be crisp and snappy, but for humorous effect you may adopt a mock-heroic tone, using language deliberately extravagant and high-pitched, as long as it is clear that you are being ironic. Be careful about the close of your

speech. Either finish with a particularly clever humorous hit, or perorate in a glowing strain. If your conclusion does not succeed in attracting a round of spontaneous applause you will have failed.

Supposing that your task is not to propose a toast, but to reply to one, you will have to follow carefully the remarks of the speaker who is proposing the toast to which you are going to reply, because it is customary to refer to his speech in your reply. Watch for some point in his speech that can be expanded in a humorous fashion. Begin by complimenting him on his speech, but on his sentiments rather than his manner of speaking. Then deal with those points in his speech that you have selected. He will be pleased that you are paying attention to the points he has raised, and in addition you will maintain an effect of continuity. Whether your task at a dinner be to propose a toast or to reply to one, bear in mind that the atmosphere is sociable, that the tone of the speaking will be frankly artificial, that your speech will be expected to abound in humorous quips and fancies, in anecdotes, and in sallies of wit, rather than in instruction and throbbing earnestness.

BROADCASTING TO INVISIBLE MILLIONS

AMONG the many changes attendant upon the advent of wireless, one result is likely to be well marked, namely, its effect on speaking. Speaking before the microphone is public speaking in the widest sense; the speaker reaches a vast audience, much larger than the largest gathering the public speaker can address, even with the aid of amplifying apparatus. But the broadcast speaker's task is complicated by the fact that his audience is invisible, and also by the fact that it is composed of so many units and not of one gathering whose members influence one another. Hence a special technique has had to be formed for broadcast speaking. Yet there are occasions on which broadcast speeches do not differ noticeably from those delivered at public meetings. For instance, the speaker may be addressing both a visible and invisible audience. In that case those who are listening-in feel themselves in spirit part of the visible audience. They can visualise the orator, his appearance, his gestures, and the effect he produces on the audience. Even when a statesman is broadcasting on a question of national importance, and when no visible audience is present, listeners will respond, if he employs the same manner as he does at public meetings. But it is for those broadcast talks which correspond to lectures, and which are designed for entertainment or instruction, that a special technique is necessary. And knowledge of this technique is useful to all public speakers because the B.B.C. is always willing to consider manuscripts of talks submitted to it.

The most obvious consideration for a broadcast talk is that it **must** be timed to the minute. If it is to occupy fifteen minutes, it cannot go on for a second longer. Prepare your talk, therefore, so that it occupies the given time exactly, cut it, if necessary, rather than hurry its delivery. The fact that your audience is invisible means that you have to forgo many advantages enjoyed by the lecturer who has his audience in front of him. Gestures and facial expressions will count for nothing, and you cannot see how your audience is responding. This

means that an extra strain is thrown on the voice, which has to do its work unassisted by the rest of the body. Accordingly variation of the voice is more than ever necessary and clear enunciation absolutely imperative. Yet slow and deliberate utterance is not invariably called for. Certainly, if you are presenting a difficult thought, speak slowly and pause for a half minute or so. But a conversational pace is ideal when you are illustrating your theme, telling a story, or describing a scene or event of which you have been an eye-witness. Although gestures and movements of the body will remain unseen, there is no reason why you should not gesture if it facilitates your utterance.

A TALK WITH A MAN IN LAND'S END

As well as being unseen, your hearers are sitting at their own firesides, isolated from one another. You are talking to thousands of people individually at the same time, and not to members of a group. Naturally you want to make them feel that you are carrying on a conversation with them, and in point of fact the situation of your listeners does make anything but a conversational tone ineffective. Not only are you talking to people individually, but you are talking to individuals of the most diverse outlook, training, and mental equipment. What may be easily intelligible to one may be difficult to another. Some listeners may be tired after their day's work; others may still be mentally alert. Obviously you cannot please everyone, but you will run the greatest risk of driving most people to switch off if you assume too much knowledge on their part. In addressing a large, mixed audience it is never safe to assume that they possess a sufficient background of knowledge. Consequently, if you are trying to convey knowledge likely to be new to your listeners, illustrate every point with analogies drawn from everyday experience. Those listeners who do know a good deal about your subject will be interested in your manner of presenting it, even if they find little novelty in your ideas. Above all, your thoughts must be lucid, and your language simple.

When you are preparing your talk, try to write in a talking or colloquial style. It would be futile to read a literary essay, and, indeed, you would never get the chance to do so. It is a rule in broadcasting that no deviation may take place from the typed copy of your talk, but all the same it is helpful sometimes to memorise your talk, so that you can speak naturally into the microphone, instead of having your attention riveted on your paper. In this way you will be able to infuse more personality into your voice. Admittedly it is difficult to transmit personality by the voice alone, but it can be done, especially if the speaker is sincere. Sincerity appeals to listeners, because it conveys the speaker's enthusiasm for his subject. A detached tone is not provocative of interest on the part of listeners. As in other varieties of speaking the beginning and end is important. Begin in a bright and interesting fashion, and you may hold the attention of listeners whose first impulse is to switch off when they find they are getting one of those talks and not jazz music. To accomplish this is the broadcast speaker's greatest triumph. Do not let your talk drag to a finish. Close with a snap.

DEBATING : THE TEST OF THE PUBLIC SPEAKER

NO form of public speaking is a greater test of one's ability to express oneself than debating. In an address or lecture the speaker has merely to prepare a speech, consisting of an orderly sequence of ideas, and speak it so that everyone can hear and understand. In a political speech a little more mental flexibility is required, as the speaker has to attack his opponents' position, defend his own, anticipate objections, and even deal with some questions. But considerably more mental alertness is required for debating. The debater may prepare his speech, but he may find that his opponent has forestalled him by anticipating and answering some of his arguments, or has approached the question from an entirely unexpected angle. In that case it would be futile to stick to the speech he has prepared. He will have to restate his arguments in such a way that the objections previously advanced by his opponent do not apply, or he will have to rearrange his speech so that he can take up some of the unexpected points made by the speaker on the other side. At all costs, debaters should avoid talking at cross-purposes, as they will do if their approach is totally different from that of the opposing speakers. If a speaker is to become a successful debater, then he must cultivate alertness of mind, readiness to see the keystone of an argument, and ability to draw conclusions, to fasten on unwarranted assumptions, false premises, and wrong interpretations. Quick thinking and readiness of speech are the qualities that make a good debater.

HOW TO DESTROY AN OPPONENT'S CASE

IT is better to prepare mentally for a debate than to spend all one's time in writing out a speech which may not fit the occasion. However, if you are opening the debate, you will be able to make a more formal preparation. If you are speaking after your opponent, your preparation will have to be flexible, permitting of quick changes of front. When you think over the subject of debate, try to fix on definite ideas. The whole art of a debating speech is to present a few powerful arguments with absolute clarity. There is no need to overload your speech with argument after argument, for the "House" will be unable to assimilate them all and may confuse the trivial with the important. Cut out all the trivial arguments and bring out your main points firmly and clearly.

This advice applies to the positive side of your argument, but you have to attack as well as to defend. Think all around the subject and try to see the arguments against your case as well as those in favour of it. But it is difficult to decide how far you should try to anticipate your opponent. Some young debaters make the mistake of presenting their opponent's case for him. If you are speaking first, it is probably better not to endeavour to deal too much with your opponent's side of the question. He may not be using the arguments you anticipate, and in any case if he is an experienced debater he will quickly change the ground. So that you will run the risk either of putting new weapons into his hand or warning him to attack you on another flank.

Yet in a debate one should take the offensive, not remain on the defensive all the time. If you are speaking second it is easier to take the offensive, but remember that it is best to demolish your opponent's arguments quickly. Do not make the mistake of taking his speech point by point and answering each laboriously in turn. The best way of destroying the edifice of argument he has reared is to strike at the foundation, or if that is secure to show that the rest of the building is not watertight. In other words, follow him closely and see if his arguments rest on a false assumption or if he is drawing his conclusions from insufficient premises. If so, expose this weakness and claim that all the rest of his case falls to the ground. If his foundation is undoubted fact, admit its truth, and proceed to challenge his conclusions.

HOW TO SPOT THE WEAK POINTS IN A SPEECH

By way of illustration, let us consider two subjects of debate. Suppose that you are opposing a motion, such as—*That the progress of science increases the difficulties of religious belief*. Your opponent may build up his case by arguing that biology has proved the Biblical account of creation to be wrong, and that astronomy with its revelation of vast interstellar spaces has upset the Christian conception of the world. Now, what tactics should you employ to meet his arguments? Do not waste time by arguing about the validity of the scientific theories he has expounded. Challenge his assumption that religion professes primarily to be an historical account of man's development or a system of cosmogony, and insist that it is a matter of inward experience, safeguarding yourself by admitting that it has an intellectual side. Show that your opponent's conception of religion is wrong, that he has only dealt with the progress of science, and that his conclusions therefore are ill-founded.

Again, suppose that you are opposing a motion—*That sterilisation of the mentally deficient should be made compulsory*. The speaker on the other side of the question would expose the scandal of the large number of the mentally deficient in this country, with their tendency to crime. Their fecundity threatens to lower the mental standard of the nation. Prevent the mentally deficient from propagating themselves, and in time mental disorders would disappear. Then we would have a people of a high mental level, happier, with less proneness to crime, and creating better social conditions for themselves. When you rise to speak, admit the seriousness of the increase in the number of the mentally deficient and the social problem created by this increase. Your opponent is right in his facts, but is his conclusion that the sterilisation of the mentally deficient will lead to the elimination of mental disease justified? Is medical evidence agreed that the children of the mentally deficient are always abnormal or that mental disease is hereditary? If you have done some reading in the subject, you will be able to quote medical opinion to the contrary. Therefore, the benefits that your opponent claims for sterilisation are very doubtful. This being the case, is it right to deprive a large number of people of the privilege of bearing children?

As so much alertness is required for debating, the intellect should

be strengthened by mental gymnastics, that is, by frequent practice of the technique of debating. Accustom yourself to taking a proposition and quickly resolving its pros and cons. For instance, if you see in the morning's paper a headline reading—TENSE SITUATION IN EUROPE, think what could be said for both sides of the motion—*That a war in Europe is as likely to-day as it was in 1914.* Practice of this kind will sharpen the intellect and make it a sound instrument for debating.

Some speakers in a debate make the mistake of being too arrogant. It is well for the debater to remember that he is not dictating to the "House." He is merely stating the case for his side of the question. If he puts it cogently, the "House" will support that side. But it is futile to cover up emptiness of reasoning by frequent assertions that he is right and his opponent wrong. A golden rule in debate is to suggest rather than to declare. It is more courteous to suggest to the "House" that you are submitting a reasonable argument and that you will leave it to their judgment. Arrogance may be shown also by indulgence in personalities and by a display of ill-temper, both of which must be entered among the "Don'ts" in debating. It is legitimate to express regret that your opponent should be wasting his ability and eloquence in the support of a fallacy, but do not hint that his arguments manifestly show a lack of intelligence. Freely recognise that your opponent is sincere, but sincerity by itself proves nothing. The slightest sign of bad temper excites the suspicion that you are feeling the ground beneath your feet begin to shake.

THE IMPORTANCE OF A WELL-STORED MIND

THE good debater has to possess a well-stored mind. For a debate in which a subject is explored from every angle, more knowledge is needed than for a straightforward exposition of that subject. Hence the debater has to be well informed on his own subject if he is a political debater, or he has to practise facility in getting up the facts of a subject by the use of reference books and other sources if he has to debate a variety of subjects. Facility in acquiring information must be combined with skill in sifting the evidence and in testing facts to see if they are well established, drawing conclusions, and making sure that they rest on sound premises. Then the relative value of facts and their conclusions must be determined and the arguments arranged in ascending order of cogency. Judicious selection must be practised also, which means selecting the principal arguments and emphasising them until they are driven home. Then mental alertness is essential to recognise the weak points of your opponent's argument. Ignore the remainder, but fasten on these points, and demolish his whole argument by dealing them smashing blows. Consider your audience. You are inviting them to make a decision after hearing your arguments and those of your opponent. Some of these arguments may be new to them, and if you want your arguments to have full weight, let them sink into the minds of your hearers. A slow, deliberate tone will lend considerable weight to your main points, although at other times you can speak at a normal rate.

Skilful debating is largely an exercise of the intellect. A speaker

may carry his point by the use of superficial arguments backed up by plausible illustrations, false analogies, and subtle emotional appeals, spiced with wit and humour directed at the arguments of his opponent; but all this is mere sophistry. To convince by the force of one's ideas, by the sheer logic of one's conclusions, and the brilliance of one's exposition is surely the aim of an honest debater. In actual practice, unfortunately, debating is frequently marred by the tricks of speakers who are plausible rather than convincing. However, such methods of debating are to be deprecated, for they have thrown so much discredit on the art and practice of debate, that one frequently hears it asserted that debating is futile as a means of attaining truth, and that it merely provides an occasion for a display of facile cleverness. A moment's reflection should show that such criticism is aimed at the abuse and not the use of debating, but if it is to retain its value as a means of intellectual training, it must be practised with honesty. Of course, one may sometimes have to defend a case which is obviously untenable merely for the fun of the thing, and in that case any amount of trickery is welcome for its humorous effect. But in a serious debate logic is preferable to sophistry.

TEAM WORK IN PUBLIC SPEAKING

IN order that speakers in a debate may make the most of their case, they have to come to a working arrangement with those who speak on the same side of the question. Sometimes there are only two speakers on each side, the opening speakers summing up at the end of the debate, but as a rule debating teams consist of three speakers. To prevent overlapping and to effect a useful division of labour it is advisable for a team of debaters to have some definite plan of campaign. Their tactics will differ according as they are speaking for the motion or the amendment, but it must be decided who is to state the principal arguments, who is to attack the opposing case, and who is to defend their own case from the counter-attacks of opponents. Needless to say, the plan of campaign cannot be too rigid, but the following tactics are generally used. In the team speaking for the affirmative, the opening speaker discusses the terms of the motion, interprets it, brings out the principal arguments in support of it, and gives as much relevant information as he can. The second speaker for the affirmative has heard the first speaker for the negative. He exposes briefly the weak points in the arguments this speaker has presented, and then goes on to amplify the arguments of his leader. If it is evident that a false impression has been created by any point of his leader's, he endeavours to correct it. The main burden of attacking the opposition falls on the third speaker for the affirmative. He contests the arguments advanced by the other side, exposes their weaknesses, emphasises the superiority of the arguments used by his leader and seconder, and strives to convince the "House" that their case is the right one. The task of the third speaker is to sum up, not to introduce fresh matter for debate.

Slightly different tactics are adopted by the speakers who are supporting the negative. As the speakers for the affirmative precede them, they are able to indulge in more offensive tactics. The opening speaker

for the negative will debate the construction placed by the first speaker for the affirmative on the motion, either accepting or rejecting it. Then he addresses himself to the main arguments used by that speaker, and exposes their errors before he proceeds to state the case for the negative, introducing favourable facts that the speaker on the other side has overlooked. The second speaker for the negative has heard the two speeches for the affirmative which contain the main arguments for that side. Therefore he is in a position to criticise their case thoroughly and point out its weaknesses. He then corrects any false impression left by his leader, and elaborates his arguments. The third speaker for the negative attempts to destroy the impression created by the third speaker on the opposite side, criticises his speech, and rapidly attacks the case for the affirmative. He introduces no fresh matter as a rule, but directs all his efforts towards emphasising the superiority of the arguments advanced for the negative, and convincing the "House" that it is the view worthy of support.

ATTACK AND DEFENCE IN COURT

NOT even the speeches of a political orator, nor the sermons of a popular preacher, are followed with so keen an interest and by such a large body of people as the speeches delivered by a famous barrister in an important trial. Possibly this interest is due to a sense of the vital issues at stake. The spectacle of a barrister using all his eloquence and intellectual resources either to condemn or vindicate a man is one that appeals to men's inherent love of a dramatic situation. Perhaps the circumstances of the case, the piecing together of clues, the conflicting evidence, the element of mystery and so on, account for the intense interest with which the pleadings of counsel in an important trial are followed. But the culminating point of the trial is the closing addresses of counsel to the jury, and it is on these occasions that forensic oratory is seen at its best.

The conditions under which speaking is practised at the Bar are widely different from those that obtain elsewhere. In a lecture or political speech the speaker can deal with his subject in a straightforward manner. He knows his facts and is chiefly concerned to persuade his hearers that his interpretation of them is right. The barrister's task is not so simple. He has to prove his facts, and has to be ready to cope with new facts that may emerge in the course of the trial. To do so, considerable mental alertness is required. Up to the last moment the advocate cannot shape his arguments for his final speech, for they may be rendered invalid by fresh evidence. Advocacy demands, therefore, much the same mental qualities as distinguish the good debater, namely, ability to think quickly, and to restate arguments when necessary.

FINDING THE OPPONENT'S WEAK SPOT

THE art of pleading in the law-courts resembles debating also in that the barrister must be quick to see the weak points in his opponent's arguments. He must be ready to challenge arguments which depend

upon unproven facts. He must perceive the keystone of his opponent's case, emphasise the importance of this point by referring repeatedly to it, and then challenge it strongly. If the barrister can select the fact upon which the case of his opponent rests, and disprove it, he will discredit that whole case. On the other hand, like the debater, he has to make sure that his own arguments are watertight, and that he is not leaving a loophole for his opponent to attack. The faculty of anticipating the arguments of an opponent is as valuable to the barrister as it is to the debater. For both, the best plan, although it involves a little labour, is to try to get up a case for the other side. A further resemblance is that both the barrister and the debater are speaking in the presence of their equals, whereas the platform speaker may have far greater knowledge of his subject than any of the audience. Since he speaks under those conditions, the barrister has to make sure that his arguments are logical enough to withstand the scrutiny of his equals, and sufficiently lucid to be intelligible and convincing to a jury of lower intellectual standing.

Hence the two outstanding factors of great advocacy are logical argument and clearness of presentment. Emotional appeals to the jury are of doubtful value and are not favoured by the best of contemporary barristers. For one thing, their effect is apt to vanish when followed by a cold, searching summing up on the part of the judge. A manner of speaking marked by sincerity and quiet conviction is practised by most modern barristers. It is only in jury trials that eloquence as such counts for much. When a barrister is presenting a case before judges alone, he is aware that they are too astute to be influenced by a rhetorical manner; only the arguments matter. Speaking at the Bar may not be so spectacular as platform speaking, but at its best it is a masterly exhibition of remorseless logic, as, for instance, when a prosecuting counsel in a murder trial narrows down the issue, eliminating person after person, until only the accused is left.

THE PREACHER AND THE "HUNGRY SHEEP"

IN spite of the common assumption that the influence of religion has waned nowadays, there is still no lack of interest in every aspect of it and in the religious life. Writers, alive to the commercial value of proclaiming that people are intensely religious, but that institutional religion has lost its appeal, point to the empty pews, and in straight-from-the-shoulder phrases tell the clergy that they have themselves to blame. If sermons are dull and harp on themes divorced from real life, why blame the people if they have found more comfortable places to sleep in than hard pews? Undoubtedly these views are naive and mistaken, but they are symptomatic of a general feeling that the standard of modern preaching is not as high as it might be, and that "the hungry sheep look up and are not fed." One recognises that there are still outstanding preachers who can convey the full force and glory of the Christian message to their listeners, and that the number of effective preachers may be relatively as high as that of other professional men whose work involves public speaking, such as lawyers and politicians, but there must be many clergymen who would hesitate to affirm that they had made every endeavour

to develop their talent for preaching. That this should be so is unfortunate. For the clergyman is the ambassador of Christ, he is filled with a sense of the truth of Christ's teaching, he wishes to communicate His faith, hope, and love to his hearers, and he cannot be content until he feels that he is doing everything in his power to persuade men to follow Him. It is in a sense tragic if such a clergyman should fail to achieve full effectiveness merely because he has neglected to cultivate his voice and his manner of preaching as fully as his intellectual and spiritual life.

PREACHERS WHO ACQUIRE THE CLERICAL VOICE

THE stock criticism of preachers is that their tone is either monotonous or affected. Although the clerical drawl adopted by actors and comedians may be exaggerated, we do find clergymen who speak in a sing-song voice and who seem to think that chanting is more seemly than an ordinary tone. Yet this tone is bound to strike the congregation as artificial, and what seems unnatural suggests insincerity. If the preacher's voice is assumed, justly or unjustly people will suspect that his message lacks reality as well. Moreover, an affected tone limits the preacher's range of self-expression. Such a tone tends to develop into a monotone, simply because it is unnatural. It is only the natural voice that possesses a high degree of flexibility that can vary in keeping with changing emotions, and run the whole gamut of feeling. Clergymen who try to cultivate the so-called clerical drawl, do so at the cost of alienating the sympathies of the congregation, and failing to achieve an emotional appeal. The people will prefer ministers who speak with the tongues of men to those whose cultivated sonorousness resembles that of grown-up choir-boys.

QUALITIES THAT GIVE POWER TO PREACHING

THE style of preaching, like that of every other form of public speaking, should fit in with the occasion and the subject. The preacher starts with the initial advantage that his subject is always worthy, always appealing to the highest of human emotions. His audience also are willing to listen and ready to learn, in a greater or less degree admittedly ; but however conventional churchgoers may be they are disposed to respond to the preacher. Why, then, is a lack of response often evident ? For several reasons : the content may be too obscure, not arranged well enough nor clearly explained, the preacher may be an indifferent speaker, or he may shrink from appearing sentimental. Then, the prevailing uncertainty about some points of Christian belief affects preaching, robbing it of convincing dogmatic fervour and substituting vague hopes and aspirations. If preachers are not quite certain about what or how much they believe, how can they influence other men ? Whatever the preacher believes, whether he is orthodox or unorthodox, he must believe it whole-heartedly, and practise it in thought, word, and deed. This sincerity is essential for the preacher whose sermons are to be effective and are to have enduring value. When we read the sermons of famous preachers we are impressed by their sincerity, and in the last analysis it explains their great power. Because they were sincere, they were charged with a spiritual earnestness which magnified the appeal of

their personality a hundredfold. Incidentally, it is a salutary discipline for clergymen to read the sermons of famous preachers regularly, and not only to read them, but to read them aloud and in the manner in which the author might have delivered them. This practice stores the mind with inspiring thoughts.

The complaint that sermons are above the heads of the congregation is not perhaps heard so much nowadays as it used to be, but it is still met with. Like the University graduate who has to teach little children, the clergyman who has studied theology finds it difficult to get inside the minds of those whose grasp of the intellectual side of religion is very slight. And possibly the mental differences that exist among individual members of a congregation are greater than those to be found in any other assembly, while from the very nature of his duty the clergyman cannot ignore those of the weakest intellect. Therefore it is well for him to keep in mind the proverbial saying that you cannot feed babes on strong meat, and in things of religion most people are babes. For this reason the minister who is true to his calling will not concern himself about the composition of sermons which are literary models, but will rather think of material for a direct, personal talk to his congregation. In his study he might compose a moving pastoral letter which his congregation might read at their leisure, but in the pulpit he should talk to them in a simple, natural manner, using the expressions of ordinary speech and not literary flourishes. Let him take a text, explain it, sketching its background, elaborating its significance, showing what religious truths it expresses and what bearing it has on our daily lives. If these lessons are enforced by illustrations drawn from the daily lives of the hearers their effect will be the greater. Unless preachers can show that the faith they preach has a direct, practical value for daily life, their sermons will not sink into the minds of their congregation to the extent of influencing their actions.

A good sermon is at once a lesson in Christian doctrine and an exhortation to right conduct through an appeal to the emotions. To fulfil his function as a teacher the clergyman has to arrange his material in an order easy to follow and to remember. For this purpose it has generally been found convenient to deal with three clearly marked aspects of the particular text chosen or of the special truth it enshrines. Thus if we study the sermons of George Whitefield, one of the greatest of popular preachers, we find that they usually consist of an introduction, explaining his text, discussion of his theme under three headings, and a peroration. At the same time his sermons are so instinct with devotion and breathe such a spirit of faith and love that the audiences must have been enlightened and inspired by them.

PORTRAIT OF A GREAT PREACHER

WHITEFIELD may be taken, also, to illustrate the qualities that should appeal in the actual preaching. Like Spurgeon, he developed a voice of astonishing carrying power by the firmness of his consonants and the clearness of his vowels. He was a born actor and could be dramatic without being theatrical. His explanations are clear, his

illustrations apposite and familiar, while his language is simple without being undignified. Throughout his sermons also there runs an eloquence that never falters and reveals unmistakably the inspiration that comes to those who wait upon the Lord, and whose single-minded aim is to preach Christ and Him crucified.

Not every clergyman can hope to become an outstanding preacher, but the study and practice of the rules that apply generally to public speaking will add to their effectiveness. They may not become preachers in the grand manner, but they can labour in the vineyard in another way. If they cannot move great crowds by sustained bursts of oratory, they can at least talk plainly and directly from the pulpit to their fellow-Christians in the pews, talk to them of the joys and sorrows, the hopes and anxieties, the troubles and triumphs they all have to endure, tell them what Christ means to them in their homes and at their work, of the cross His followers have to bear, and of the glory which perseverance to the end will bring. As an example of this type of preacher, the names of the Rev. G. Studdart-Kennedy ("Woodbine Willie") and the Rev. W. H. Elliot may be cited

HUMOUR: THE SALT OF PUBLIC SPEAKING

SCARCELY anything in life is considered so desirable as a keen sense of humour, but whether it should be regarded with universal and unqualified approbation is open to question. Certainly humour is the salt of life, but the salt is apt to lose its savour. The well-meant attempts of serious and dull persons to be jocose inflicts unnecessary suffering upon their more discriminating friends. So it is in public speaking. If a speaker is naturally able to see things in a whimsical light, if he delights in the incongruities and oddities of human behaviour, if his style of speaking rouses ripples of kindly laughter among the audience, he is indeed favoured by the gods. His reputation as a speaker at social functions and as a lecturer on popular subjects will be deservedly high. But if a speaker is not blessed with a humorous outlook, it is doubtful if he should labour to strike a humorous vein. Humorous speaking is one of those things that must be done well or not at all. If it is at all laboured it "comes tardily off." This is a point in which the speaker must exercise a little self-examination. If humour is his *forte* by all means let him exploit it. On the other hand, if his humour is mostly of a second-hand nature, he would probably do better to reserve his energies for speeches of a serious character.

For speeches on social occasions, humour is the flavour that seasons the whole dish. And in a more limited degree it has a place in serious speeches, as there is scarcely a subject which cannot be lighted up by a gleam of humour. Yet tact is necessary in its use. The speaker may interest his audience and entertain them by his humour, whether of phrase or incident, but there is a danger that they may remember his humorous sallies and forget about the serious remarks which the humour was intended to make more palatable. When a well-known novelist once stood as a candidate in a Parliamentary election it was interesting to note how the Press reported his jokes and witty sayings, while his

policy passed almost unnoticed. An audience likes to be amused, but its members are apt to think that the gift of humorous speaking is accompanied by shallowness and irresponsibility. It follows then that in a serious speech the humorous hits should not be too numerous, but just enough to give the audience the ease that comes from laughter. They should be incidental and not introduced in such close association with important points that they divert attention from these points. Sometimes the psychological effect of a good speech has been spoilt by a superfluous, humorous hit. This has occurred in cases where the speaker has created a feeling of tension among the audience. In a state of suspense they are waiting for the speaker to make further revelations. At this moment he makes a joke; the audience relax and he loses the advantage of the feeling of tension he has produced. To be effective, to interest and amuse the audience, to create an attitude of friendliness on the part of the audience towards the speaker, humour has to be natural, unforced, not overdone, and introduced on appropriate occasions.

HOW TO TELL A GOOD STORY

A HUMOROUS effect can be achieved by recounting good stories. As a rule the speaker will find it useful to have an extensive repertoire of good stories, particularly for after-dinner speeches when they are expected. However, he should avoid, in serious speeches, the temptation to tell a story for its own sake. If it is necessary to do so to recall the wandering attention of the audience it amounts to a confession of failure. But, like original humour, it is quite legitimate if it fits in aptly. A funny story should be used to illustrate some point, and this point should be linked closely to the story, so that the audience will remember both together. Such is the method employed by the American speaker who told the following story: *A man from the country districts came to be President of the United States, and someone asked a farmer from that region what sort of a President Mr. So-and-So would make. The reply was: "He's a good deal of a man in our little town, but I think if you spread him out over all the United States he will be mighty thin."* So there are men admirable in one occupation or profession, but spread out their energy over a dozen things to do and they are failures. Again, in a lecture on Scottish Traits, Ian Maclaren, the novelist, defined drollery by recounting how *"an Irishman was once sent to deliver a live hare, which escaped and started to run for its liberty. The Irishman made no attempt at pursuit. Not he. He simply shook his sides with laughter, while he exclaimed: 'Ye may run, ye may run and kape on running, but small good it'll do yez. Ye haven't got the address.'"* It is obvious that stories of this nature must be fresh, and that it is useless to go about retailing "chestnuts." A story for whose truth you can vouch will always arouse more interest than one that is admittedly fictitious. Those who speak frequently will find it helpful to file cuttings of stories from newspapers and periodicals in a scrap-book.

THE RAPIER THRUST OF WIT

A READY wit is a valuable asset for the public speaker, especially for one who has to deal with opponents. It is not easy to separate wit from humour, but the distinction usually drawn between them is that

wit appeals to the intellect and humour to the feelings, and roughly speaking this distinction is true. Wit is largely a matter of clever expression, of expressing an idea in a brief-pointed fashion, and thus exciting a feeling of novelty. It implies a mastery of the art of handling words. Thus if Baldwin spoke whimsically of his fondness for his pipe, we should term his remarks humorous, because they would amuse his hearers by striking a chord of sympathy. On the other hand, if a political opponent slyly observed that Baldwin was a great Englishman and a great pipe-smoker, his observation might be taken as an example of wit, because it appeals to the intellect by suggesting that pipe-smoking is a characteristic of a great Englishman. Perhaps a more striking example of wit was the remark of Sheridan about an honourable gentleman who drew upon his memory for his jests and upon his imagination for his facts. The value of wit consists in its pregnant force; it sums up an idea in a striking phrase which will stick in the minds of the audience. It is one of the most potent weapons of attack in the speaker's armoury. Wit must wear an air of spontaneity, but it is a quality which can be cultivated to a greater degree than can humour. It comes readily to some speakers with an alert intellect, but it is within the reach of all who try to express their ideas with the utmost precision and point.

THE VIVID EFFECT OF A QUOTATION

FASHIONS change in public speaking as in other social activities. Formerly speakers were accustomed to adorn their speeches with quotations from the classics and from the great English authors. To-day a speaker who quoted from the classics would be liable to the charge of pedantry, and the use of quotations from other sources is much less marked. On the whole, this change is not a matter for regret. When the speaker addressed an audience who had been brought up on the classics, his quotations were intelligible and struck a chord in the memory of his hearers. Very often his quotations were purely ornamental, but the tendency of modern speaking is to discard all ornament and achieve a naked simplicity. The wholesale use of quotations that may be unintelligible to the audience is to be discouraged, but that does not mean that the speaker should never quote from literary sources. On the contrary, he may—but judiciously. There is often a wealth of emotion packed into a line or two of poetry. If the speaker can find a quotation from a great writer which exactly suits the sentiment he wishes to express, its use will have an emotional appeal far more powerful than his own words. Care should be taken that the quotation is apt and not out of keeping with the rest of the speech. It would be difficult to find a quotation more aptly used than one which Grattan, the Irish patriot, used in a speech against the Anglo-Irish Union of 1800. In the course of a magnificent oration, he addressed to the spirit of Ireland the same words which Romeo spoke over the apparently dead body of Juliet:

*"Thou art not conquer'd; beauty's ensign yet
Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks,
And death's pale flag is not advanced there."*

If quotations are to gain their full effect, they should not be used too frequently. When quotations are used rarely by the speaker and they are well chosen their value is inestimable, but as they are subject to the law of diminishing returns the speaker should resist the temptation to embody in his speech too many allusions drawn from his reading. Quotations are liable to become hackneyed, and one that is well worn has little effect on the audience. There is not much to be gained by indulging in threadbare quotations, such as "A man's a man for a' that" and "The best laid schemes o' mice and men gang aft agley." Speakers should be careful also about the manner in which they introduce quotations. It is not necessary to preface them by naming the author or the work. Let the quotation glide into the speech without this preface. The sentiment it expresses is the thing that matters and not the author who wrote it. Indeed, the mention of the author serves only to divert some of the audience's attention from the quotation itself.

However, a speaker finds on occasion that he has to quote from sources other than the poets and great prose-writers. If he is speaking on an economic or political subject, he may have to quote from Government reports or other authoritative sources. When questions of fact are involved the speaker may strengthen his case by citing such sources, but he must remember that an audience is inclined to grow weary of hard facts. The speaker should invariably read statistics, either from his notes or from an official document. Thus the audience will see that he has made sure of his facts and is not trusting to memory.

A GREAT ORATOR IN ACTION

IN the training of craftsmen of all kinds, the study of the works of the masters has an important place. So it should be with the craft of public speaking. Not that anyone would recommend slavish imitation of the style of great orators. Nothing could be gained by such imitation, for every speaker differs in personality, outlook, and general equipment. It is better to express one's own personality than to dress oneself up in the mantle of a great orator. Yet many valuable hints may be acquired by the intelligent study of the performances of outstanding speakers. For instance, an analysis of the following speech by D. Lloyd George, delivered at Aberystwyth National Eisteddfod on August 17, 1916, will throw a good deal of light on the effects which the speaker should strive to produce :

"Why should we not sing during the war? Why especially should we not sing at this stage of the war? The blinds of Britain are not down yet, nor are they likely to be. The honour of Britain is not dead, her might is not broken, her destiny is not fulfilled, her ideals are not shattered by her enemies. She is more than alive; she is more potent, she is greater than she ever was. Her dominions are wider, her influence is deeper, her purpose is more exalted than ever. Why should her children not sing? I know war means suffering, war means sorrow. Darkness has fallen on many a devoted household, but it has been ordained that the best singer amongst the birds of Britain should give its song in the night, and according to legend that sweet song is one of triumph over pain. There are no nightingales this side of the Severn. Providence rarely wasted its gifts. We do



[Sport & General]

THE ORATOR IN ACTION
Lloyd George addressing an open-air meeting.

Univ. of
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not need this exquisite songster in Wales ; we can provide better. There is a bird in our villages that can beat the best of them. He is called *Y Cymro*. He sings in joy, he sings also in sorrow ; he sings in prosperity, he sings also in adversity. He sings at play, he sings at work ; he sings in the sunshine, he sings in the storm ; he sings in the daytime, he sings also in the night ; he sings in peace, why should he not sing in war ? Hundreds of wars have swept over these hills, but the harp of Wales has never yet been silenced by one of them, and I should be proud if I contributed something to keep it in tune during the war by the holding of the *Eisteddfod* to-day.

"But I have another and even more urgent reason for wishing to keep this *Eisteddfod* alive during the war. When this terrible conflict is over, a wave of materialism will sweep over the land. Nothing will count but machinery and output. I am all for output, and I have done my best to improve machinery and increase output. But that is not all. There is nothing more fatal to a people than that it should narrow its vision to the material needs of the hour. National ideals without imagination are but as the thistles of the wilderness, fit neither for food nor fuel. A nation that depends upon them must perish. We shall need at the end of the war better workshops, but we shall also need more than ever every institution that will exalt the vision of the people above and beyond the workshop and the counting-house. We shall need every national tradition that will remind them that man cannot live by bread alone.

"I make no apology for advocating the holding of the *Eisteddfod* in the middle of this great conflict, even although it were merely a carnival of song as it has been stigmatised. The storm is raging as fiercely as ever, but now there is a shimmer of sunshine over the waves, there is a rainbow on the tumult of surging waters. The struggle is more terrible than it has ever been, but the legions of the oppressor are being driven back, and the banner of right is pressing forward. Why should we not sing ? It is true there are thousands of gallant men falling in the fight—let us sing of their heroism. There are myriads more standing in the battle-lines, facing the foe, and myriads more behind ready to support them when their turn comes. Let us sing of the land that gave birth to so many heroes."

HOW LLOYD GEORGE DOES IT

NOTE the consummate skill of the beginning. The speaker arouses the attention of his hearers by asking the question which was uppermost in their minds. No doubt they had an uneasy feeling that musical festivals required some justification in the anxious days of warfare. Accordingly, Lloyd George throws out the challenge : *Why should we not sing during the war ?* The first paragraph of the speech is a reply to those who urge that the voice of the singer should not be heard in times of suffering. The speaker begins by pointing out that Britain is not dead ; this negative argument is followed by the positive one that she is very much alive and stronger than ever. Why, then, should not her children sing ? Britain is not dead, but many of her people are suffering, someone might reply. The speaker admits this, but is there not a moral in the fact that the nightingale sings in the night ? True, in Wales there are no nightingales, but there is *Y Cymro*, who sings at all times, and why not in war ? Then comes the telling point that hundreds of wars have failed to silence the song of Wales, and why should the present one ?

So far Lloyd George has been defending the holding of the festival. Then his thought changes. He is not concerned now to show why we should refuse to stop singing, but why we should sing. After every war there is a wave of materialism which will destroy the soul of the nation unless spiritual things like the practice of song is preserved. He has given reasons why we should not heed the voices of those who say : *This is no time to sing.* He has given one powerful reason why we should sing. Then he becomes bolder and asserts that no apology is needed for singing, because there are grounds for optimism, and because we have a worthy subject for song in the heroism of those who are falling in the war. With consummate skill the speaker begins by reassuring his audience that they need not fear the reproaches of critics, and ends by making them feel that not only are they justified in singing, but it is the proper and best thing for them to do at the time.

ROUSING THE EMOTIONS OF THE AUDIENCE

A BARE analysis of the thought of this speech does it less than justice. Its greatest interest lies in the illustration it provides of Lloyd George's marvellous power of appealing to the sentiments and emotions of his audience. His references to the war and to the "thousands of gallant men falling in the fight" would appeal poignantly to people whose daily thoughts were haunted by the fears produced by the conflict. He contrives to link a specifically Welsh festival with the destiny of Britain by appealing both to their patriotism as Welshmen and their patriotism as Britons. The Welsh love of music is made part of the aspirations of Britain. Not only does the speaker appeal to the emotions and patriotism of his audience, but also to their ethical sense. He has to convince them that it is right to sing. Therefore he appeals to the spiritual concept of a nation as opposed to its material organisation. The effect of this speech could not be otherwise than profound, for it would strike chords of patriotic pride and patriotic aspirations in the minds of his audience.

THE LYRICAL BALANCE OF PHRASES

THIS speech also displays the command of language that distinguishes the true orator. It will be noted that throughout the language is perfectly simple ; not a word used that would not be understood by everybody. Concrete words, such as "workshop" and "counting-house," where a less skilful speaker might have been content with vaguer words like "industry" and "commerce," bring the speech into closer touch with reality. It is an achievement to express a general theme in plain language, but the principal merit of Lloyd George's oratorical style lies in his phrasing. The balance of his phrases, and the manner in which they rise to a climax is especially noticeable in this speech. *He sings in joy, he sings also in sorrow ; he sings in prosperity, he sings also in adversity ; he sings at play, he sings at work ; he sings in the sunshine, he sings in the storm ; he sings in the daytime, he sings also in the night ; he sings in peace, why should he not sing in war ?* In this passage we find a lyrical balance of phrases which fits admirably the piercing emotional appeal of

the thoughts expressed. This rhythmical quality of the phrasing is a favourite device of orators who realise that rhythm is more pleasing to the ear than irregular phrases.

The language of an orator, like that of the poet, has an element of suggestion—that is, it sets in motion trains of thought, and arouses emotions in the minds of listeners by recalling other occasions on which they have heard or read the same words. "The vision of the people" creates an atmosphere of religious solemnity by recalling Biblical phrases, such as "The young men shall see visions and the old men dream dreams." "The legions of the oppressor," with its suggestions of Roman tyranny, excites a righteous indignation against a militarist power that puts its trust in the sword, while "the banner of right" is a solemn phrase that arouses a spirit of devotion to a cause. "Man cannot live by bread alone" is rather an over-used phrase, but it seldom fails to suggest a high ethical ideal.

THE VALUE OF VIVID METAPHOR

THE atmosphere of noble thought and aspiration created by this speech is partly produced also by the speaker's use of metaphor. By a common rhetorical device, Britain is personified. True, such personification is somewhat hackneyed, but still its emotional effect is greater than speaking of Britain in the third person. Detached criticism might object that such metaphors as, "a shimmer of sunshine over the waves," and "a rainbow on the tumult of surging waters," are rather banal, but probably in the mouth of a great speaker their commonplaceness would be unnoticed. It has to be recognised that the stock of metaphors at an orator's disposal is smaller than that the poet can draw upon. The latter is always coining fresh metaphors, but the orator cannot take the risk of inventing a metaphor that might be unfamiliar to his audience. By the magic of his voice he has to infuse fresh vitality into tired metaphors. A metaphor, such as "the thistles of the wilderness," is peculiarly telling, because it is elaborated by the addition of the phrase, "fit neither for food nor fuel." Probably the reason why the latter metaphor is more convincing than "a shimmer of sunshine over the waves" is that it is more concrete and more realistic.

The conclusion of the speech is worthy of study. Most of the speech is on the level of a peroration, but the highest note of all is struck in the last few sentences. The speaker ends on the most uplifting thoughts that could be addressed to an audience at that time, pride in and gratitude for the sacrifices of the fallen, and a determination to maintain the same cause to the bitter end. The special value of the study of a speech of this kind is that it illustrates the orator's art of rousing the emotions of his audience. He knows what they are thinking anxiously about; he makes their thoughts his starting-point; shows them that their thoughts and actions are justified. Thus he establishes contact with his audience. In fact, there is little profound or fresh thought in this speech. Its whole effect lies in expressing what the audience are thinking better than any of them could themselves. This understanding of the mind of the people combined with the simplicity, warmth, and colour of the language, the suggestiveness of the metaphors, and the rhythmical

balance and climax of the phrases makes this speech of Lloyd George's a singularly good example of effective public speaking.

THE GENTLE ART OF TAKING THE CHAIR

AT some stage in his career the public speaker is sure to be invited to take the chair, either at a public meeting or at a social function or at the meetings of an association, society, or public body. As such an invitation is apt to come at unexpected moments he can accept it with more confidence if he already possesses a knowledge of the duties of a chairman and the procedure that is followed at meetings of a deliberative nature. Naturally the duties of the chairman will differ in accordance with the gathering over which he has to preside, but in all cases the responsibility for maintaining order resides with him. Firmness, courtesy, and tact are the qualities the chairman must show if he is to carry out this part of his duty successfully, though happily the number of meetings in which rowdiness occurs is very small.

In political meetings, however, the chairman has to be prepared to deal with a rowdy element among the audience. Unless the rowdiness is deliberately organised, firmness on the part of the chairman will succeed in suppressing it. Yet he must be firm without appearing fussy. He should only intervene if he finds that interruptions are having a bad effect on the speaker. Then he can rise and point out to the interrupters that ample opportunities will be given later for asking questions. If this appeal fails and rowdiness continues, he may warn the interrupters that they are present on sufferance and may be ejected. Supposing this warning is ineffective, he may name one or several of the ringleaders and ask the stewards to eject them, but only as a last resort should he call on the assistance of the stewards. If the chairman stands his ground and makes it clear that he will not be intimidated, outbreaks of disorder will soon subside. Fortunately it is only in exceptional circumstances that the chairman has to face this trying experience, but it must be realised that the duty of keeping order is his, and that he must carry it out, whatever the strain may be.

HOW TO INTRODUCE THE SPEAKER

IN meetings of a political nature, besides keeping order, the chairman has generally to introduce the speaker to the audience. But it is not unusual to find a chairman who is not content to introduce the speaker ; his speech grows so lengthy that it seems as if he means to usurp the speaker's place. He speaks for ten minutes or more on the subject which the speaker is going to discuss, making the audience restless, and annoying the speaker, who feels that he will be forced to indulge in repetition. Such want of tact on the part of the chairman merely makes the task of the speaker more difficult. The tactful chairman, on the other hand, will avoid the subject with which the speaker is going to deal ; he will refer to the speaker's services to the party and to the nation. If the speaker is a stranger, he may tell him something about the district and its special claims on his attention. Above all, the

chairman's remarks should be brief; their object is to introduce the speaker and to convey a favourable impression of his abilities and qualities to the audience.

In meetings where business is transacted, the chairman's task is more difficult, because he has to see that the formal procedure of conducting business is observed, that everything done is in order. Most organised bodies or associations choose their chairman at regular intervals, annually or triennially, but occasionally meetings are convened by no regular body, but by a few individuals, to discuss a specific question. For instance, the inhabitants of a village might be invited to attend a public meeting to decide if a new tennis court should be laid out. Generally those responsible for convening the meeting will have selected the chairman in advance and announced his name, along with the resolution to be discussed, but it may happen that the choice of the chairman will be left to the meeting. In that case, someone will propose that Mr. A take the chair, and this motion will have to be seconded by another person. If no further nominations are made, the proposer of Mr. A will put the question to the vote, and if it is carried Mr. A will take the chair.

HOW THE CHAIRMAN IS CHOSEN

IN the event of more than one nomination being made, a vote between the nominees must be taken. First of all, a returning officer must be nominated. Then either of two methods may be used for the election. According to the parliamentary method the names of candidates are submitted to the meeting in the order in which they have been proposed. Thus, if three candidates, Mr. Smith, Mr. Jones, and Mr. Brown have been nominated in turn, the name of Mr. Smith will be submitted to the meeting first. If the motion that Mr. Smith do take the chair is carried, Mr. Smith is installed as chairman. If it is defeated, the same procedure is adopted with the other candidates. In the event of the three names being all negatived, the candidate with the highest number of votes may be declared elected.

This parliamentary method works satisfactorily when two candidates are proposed, but when more than that number have been nominated it is better to use the popular method of election. That is, the names of the candidates are put to the vote singly in alphabetical order. The name of the candidate receiving the least number of votes is struck out, and the process is repeated until one name is left. This name is then proposed, seconded, and put to the vote. Thus, if Mr. Smith, Mr. Jones, Mr. Brown, and Mr. Robinson are proposed for the office of chairman, the names are put to the vote in the following order—Mr. Brown, Mr. Jones, Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Smith. Suppose 60 persons are present, and the result of the voting is—Brown 12, Jones 14, Robinson 18, and Smith 16. Then the name of Brown is struck out and a further vote taken which results in Jones receiving 18 votes, Robinson 25, and Smith 17. Smith is struck off the list, and the next vote results in 37 for Robinson and 23 for Jones. Accordingly, it is formally proposed and seconded that Mr. Robinson do take the chair, and the motion is put to the vote.

Another method of electing a chairman is to submit all the names to the meeting at the same time. Each person writes down the name of the candidate he votes for ; the name of the one receiving most votes is then proposed, seconded, and put to the vote.

QUALITIES THAT WIN RESPECT FOR THE CHAIRMAN

Now that the chairman is elected, we have to see what his duties are. He has to preserve order, both in the conduct of the persons present and in the order of debate. He has to see that debate is conducted in accordance with the rules laid down in the laws of the body over which he presides. Most organisations have a constitution, fixing the procedure to be followed in their meeting. The constitution may differ slightly from one organisation to another, but there are general rules of procedure with which the chairman must be familiar as well as with the special laws of his own organisation. Other duties of the chairman are to decide whether motions or amendments are in order, to state questions to the meeting for debate after they have been moved and seconded, to put questions to the vote, to declare the result, to keep speakers to the question under discussion, and to decide all points of order.

These duties may appear onerous, but once the chairman becomes familiar with the technique of public discussion he is seldom at a loss. Knowledge of procedure is essential for efficiency in the chair, but the chairman who wishes to win the respect of the meeting has to be scrupulously fair in his decisions ; he must be absolutely impartial, giving all sides equal opportunities of debating the question. He must not exercise his powers unfairly to cut short the speech of anyone who is expressing unpopular views ; neither should he intervene himself to influence the decision of the meeting. A judicial air of ripe judgment and impartiality becomes him best.

When the chairman takes the chair he must satisfy himself that there is a quorum of members present. A quorum is the minimum number of members of a body necessary for holding a valid meeting. The exact number, usually a certain proportion of the membership, will be specified in the rules of the body. Unless this particular number is present, business cannot be transacted, and the chairman must adjourn the meeting. Of course, for public meetings specially convened the matter of a quorum does not arise ; it only applies to regularly constituted bodies. If at any time in the course of the meeting the number present falls below that required for the quorum, the chairman must also adjourn the meeting.

READING THE MINUTES

Assuming that a quorum is present, the chairman will declare the meeting duly constituted and proceed with the agenda. The order of business will be laid down in the Standing Orders of the organisation, but as a rule the first step is to ask the secretary to read the Minutes of the previous meeting. When the Minutes have been read, the chairman will ask the meeting if it is their wish that he sign the Minutes as correct ?

Those who agree will hold up their hands. Then the chairman says : "To the contrary?" At this point it is open for members to challenge the accuracy of the Minutes and to propose alterations. The chairman should be careful not to allow any member to re-open subjects the discussions of which are recorded in the Minutes. Only their accuracy as a record of the proceedings may be questioned, and any discussion on their subject-matter is out of order. Proposals to alter the Minutes have to be put to the vote in the manner of an amendment, which we shall discuss later. After the Minutes have been passed either in their original or amended form they are signed by the chairman.

The Minutes are a necessary and serious part of the meeting ; however, they do sometimes give rise to entertaining parry and thrust of wit between members and the secretary. The present writer once attended the private business of a meeting where the secretary was subjected to a great deal of criticism for his account of the Society's previous meeting. Member after member got up demanding why a report had not been made of this and that point in the debate. No sooner had one member sat down than another rose with a fresh complaint about the report. At length the secretary was compelled to rise. *Gentlemen*, he remarked, holding forth his maligned records, *you forget yourselves—this is a Minute-book, not a minute-gun.*

Reading of the Minutes may be followed by "Business arising out of the Minutes." For instance, it may have been recorded in the Minutes that a committee was appointed for a special purpose. Now this committee will present its report if it has finished its work. The next item will probably be the reading by the secretary of correspondence he has received, followed by any discussion necessary. Thereafter the public business on the agenda, which in the case of public bodies will consist of a series of motions, will be taken. A motion or resolution is a formal proposal made to the meeting, seeking to express its will on some point. It must be affirmative in character and begin with the word "That." According to the rules of some bodies, notice of motion must be given—that is, at the previous meeting the member reads out his motion and hands a signed copy to the chairman. Then his motion will be discussed at the next meeting. It is not necessary that notice of motion should be given concerning business that the organisation has met to discuss, but it is advisable for the chairman to request members who submit motions to hand him a written copy to ensure their accuracy.

VOTING BY VOICE AND VOTING BY HANDS

WHEN a motion has been duly moved and seconded, the chairman "states the question"—that is, he puts the motion to the meeting. Mr. A has moved and Mr. B has seconded, *That a new bridge be built to cope with the growth of traffic.* The chairman then states the question as follows : *The question is, That a new bridge be built to cope with the growth of traffic.* After the motion has been discussed, the chairman "puts the question" to the meeting in the following manner : *The question is, That a new bridge be built to cope with the growth of traffic. As many as are of that opinion will say "Aye."* (Pause to hear voices.) *As many as are of the*

contrary opinion will say "No." (Pause.) Then the chairman declares the result, whether the "Ayes" or the "Noes" have it. If his opinion is challenged, a vote is taken. Such is the formal way of putting the question, but voting by voice, except in Parliament, is rather the exception than the rule. Usually, the chairman will ask members to hold up one hand. He will count the votes and declare the result, or if the assembly is a large one he will appoint tellers, one or two from each side, who count the votes, and bring the result to the chairman, who announces it.

Frequently, neither the adoption nor the rejection of a motion will express the will of the meeting. Consequently, it may be altered by one or more amendments to meet their wishes. A motion may be altered in several ways, by omitting words, by inserting words, by omitting some words to insert others, or by altering everything after the word "That." Suppose the meeting is discussing a motion: *That a new bridge be built with the least possible delay to cope with the traffic.* Some members feel that the matter is not extremely urgent. Therefore a member rises and says, *I move as an amendment to strike out the words "with the least possible delay."* This amendment is seconded, as every amendment has to be. Then the chairman states the question in the following manner: "The original question was, *That a new bridge be built with the least possible delay to cope with the growth of traffic.* Since when it has been moved, by way of amendment, to strike out the words *with the least possible delay.* The question now is, *That the words proposed to be struck out shall stand part of the question.*" The debate that follows is confined to the amendment and should not touch on the original motion. If the amendment is carried, the motion is altered accordingly and the motion in its new form put to the vote.

THE ETIQUETTE OF THE AMENDMENT

AGAIN, supposing an amendment is moved and seconded, that the words "at a cost not exceeding £5000" be inserted after the word "built," the chairman will state the original question, adding, *The question now is, that the words proposed to be inserted shall be so inserted.* Debate then takes place on this amendment. If an amendment is moved that some words be omitted and others inserted in their place, the chairman will take the amendment for omitting the words first, and then the second amendment for inserting the others.

Any number of amendments may be proposed to a motion, and when more than one have been submitted the chairman must be careful to arrange them in the proper order. Once an amendment has been voted on, the part of the motion preceding that point to which it refers may not be altered. Thus, if an amendment that the words *with the least possible delay* be omitted from the motion, *that a new bridge be built with the least possible delay to cope with the traffic,* is either carried or rejected the part of the motion before *built* cannot be altered. Therefore the chairman must arrange the amendments in the order in which they affect the original motion. A further complication ensues if an amendment is moved to an amendment. In that event the chairman places the original motion aside for the time being, and treats the first amendment as if it were a motion.

Sometimes the original motion and the amendment are debated at the same time and one placed against the other when the vote is taken, but this procedure is contrary to the established custom of debate. Another irregularity is the moving of a direct negative to a motion, which negatives it by the insertion of *not*. This practice is allowed in Scotland, but it is unnecessary, for the same result can be achieved by voting against the motion without moving a direct negative.

ANTIDOTES TO LONG-WINDEDNESS : APPLYING THE CLOSURE

OWING to the loquacity of members, it sometimes happens that a debate would be inordinately prolonged, unless some method of bringing it to an end is adopted. For closing a discussion there are several motions that may be proposed :

- (1) The closure.
- (2) That the debate be adjourned.
- (3) That the meeting be adjourned.
- (4) That the chairman do leave the chair.
- (5) That the meeting proceed to the next business.
- (6) The previous question.

The closure requires that the motion, *That the question be now put*, be proposed and seconded. It has to be put to the meeting immediately and cannot be debated. If it is carried, voting takes place at once on the motion or amendment under discussion. Should the closure be moved and carried on an amendment, the latter is put to the vote, but the original motion is not affected. However, it is within the powers of the chairman to refuse to accept a motion for the closure if he considers that a reasonable time has not been allowed for debate. The advantages of the closure are obvious ; it prevents the waste of time in needless volubility, but the chairman should see to it that it is not unfairly used by a majority.

In exceptional cases (*e.g.* when he acts for private conveners) the chairman may adjourn the meeting, but in most cases the motion *that the meeting do now adjourn* must come from the meeting. If the motion for adjourning the meeting is carried, it means that the meeting is discontinued, but adjourning the debate does not necessarily involve closing the meeting ; other business may follow. Both motions may be amended as far as the date of resuming either the meeting or debate is concerned, and at the discretion of the chairman they may be debated, although speakers should be kept strictly to the question of the adjournment and not allowed to hark back to the main subject of discussion. A motion for the adjournment, if it fails, may be repeated, but only after the lapse of a reasonable time. The motion *that the Chairman do leave the chair* is similar to motions for the adjournment, but the difference is that the subject under discussion lapses. In Parliament it has the effect of killing Bills.

The motion *that the meeting proceed to the next business*, if carried, means that the subject under discussion is dropped without further debate and without a vote on it. If it is carried while a motion is being discussed,

the meeting proceeds to consider the next business on the agenda, but if it is carried during the discussion of an amendment, the meeting returns to the motion on which the amendment has been moved. The motion of "the previous question" is another device for stopping discussion without putting the matter to the vote. It differs from the motion *to proceed to the next business* in that it can only be moved on a motion, and not on an amendment. When for certain reasons it is judged inadvisable to put to the vote a motion in which delicate issues are involved, the previous question can be usefully employed. It may be moved either in the form *that the question be not put*, or in the words *I desire to move the previous question*. Debate is allowed both on the previous question and on the main motion before it is put to the vote. If it is carried, the motion under discussion is dropped and no vote taken on it. On the other hand, if the previous question is defeated, the main motion must be put to the vote at once without further debate. In this respect it differs from the motion to proceed to the next business. If the latter motion is defeated, the discussion is resumed at the point where it was left off. None of the motions which have the effect of stopping debate can be moved by anyone who has previously spoken to the motion under discussion.

As well as seeing that motions and amendments are introduced properly, the chairman has to enforce the regulations about the number of times each member is allowed to address the meeting. The general rule for each motion is *one man one speech*, but this rule is subject to some qualifications. The most important is that the mover of a substantive or main motion has the right of reply before the vote is taken. In his reply he may introduce no fresh matter, but limit himself to answering points raised in the discussion. If an amendment is proposed, the mover of the substantive motion must exercise his right of reply immediately before the vote is taken on the amendment. In the event of more than one amendment being proposed, he replies before the voting on the first amendment. Any speaker who has spoken to a motion may speak again if an amendment is proposed. The rule is that a person may speak only once to the same motion or amendment. Consequently a speaker may not move two amendments to the same motion.

POINTS OF ORDER

THERE are two exceptions to the general rule that a person may not speak more than once to the same motion or amendment. If his remarks are being misinterpreted by another speaker, he may ask to be allowed to make a personal explanation. The chairman may grant this request if the meeting agrees, and if the speaker who is addressing the chair is willing to give way. The other exception occurs when a person rises to a point of order. If he indicates that he rises to a point of order, the speaker who has the floor of the house immediately gives way. The member who has risen to the point of order explains the irregularity which has occasioned his protest. Other members may speak strictly to the point of order, and the chairman gives his ruling, which must be accepted.

Points of order may refer to mistakes in procedure, irrelevancy of remarks, impropriety of language, etc. If the chairman rules that the point of order is well taken, the speaker who committed the mistake will conform to his ruling. If the chairman rules that the point of order was not well taken, the speaker proceeds with his speech uncensured. Unless the chairman knows exactly what constitutes a point of order, he will find himself in difficulties owing to continual interruptions of the discussion by members, who have already spoken, using this pretext to voice objections to the opinions of the speaker who has the floor. He should refuse to allow any member to give personal explanations or supplement his speech on the pretext of rising to a point of order.

In one class of meetings the rule that members may speak only once to a motion or amendment is relaxed, namely in committee, where members may speak as often as they like and address the chair sitting. The normal posture for addressing the chair is, of course, standing, while the chairman, if a man, should be addressed as *Mr. Chairman*, and, if a woman, as *Madame Chairman*. It is open to any meeting to go into committee if the business is of such a nature that it requires detailed discussion. For this purpose the motion is brought forward, *That the meeting do resolve itself into a committee of the whole*.

In a committee of the whole the chairman has only a casting vote, that is, he votes only when an equal number of votes is recorded on both sides. But in an ordinary meeting he has a deliberative vote like the other members. As a rule, except in small meetings, the chairman prefers to forgo his deliberative vote and remain impartial, while the casting vote has to be used with great discretion. The Speaker of the House of Commons has to use his casting vote, but there is no such obligation on chairmen of other assemblies. When the chairman does use his casting vote, he generally votes in the way that will preserve the *status quo*.

HOW A DEBATING SOCIETY IS CONDUCTED

THE procedure of debating societies differs somewhat from that of public bodies and associations which transact serious business, being usually less strict and formal. Most debating societies lay down in their constitutions the procedure to be followed in their meetings and the manner of conducting debates. The chairman announces the proposition for debate, which is then supported by a leading speaker. The latter is followed by a leading speaker who speaks against the proposition. Sometimes there are no seconders, and the chairman declares the subject open for discussion by the "House." As in other meetings, when several members rise to speak he will name the speaker who catches his eye first, and as far as possible he will call alternately on speakers desiring to support or oppose the proposition.

In most societies it is the custom to have a seconder for each side of the proposition before it is thrown open for general discussion, and in some cases teams of debaters consisting of three speakers on each side. The principal speakers for and against the proposition reply at the end of the debate, this time in different order, the speaker for the negative speaking first and the speaker for the affirmative winding up the debate.

But in some societies it may not be customary for the speaker for the negative to reply. The chairman may, if he pleases, sum up the arguments on both sides in an impartial speech before he puts the proposition to the vote. If the chairman wishes to support one side of the proposition, he should vacate the chair and ask another member to take his place while he delivers his speech. The amount of time to be allowed each speaker will probably be laid down in the society's constitution, and the chairman should allow little relaxation of this rule.

DUTIES OF THE COMPANY CHAIRMAN

THE chairman of Company Meetings occupies a responsible position, for the proceedings are of a legal character, since they deal with rights of property. Unless the chairman is familiar with his duties and powers, he may give a wrong decision which will involve the company in serious trouble. Company Meetings are of two kinds: ordinary General Meetings and Extraordinary General Meetings. The former take place at regular intervals, according to the Articles of Association which regulate the Company's affairs, while the latter are summoned to deal with special business.

Company Meetings are conducted by means of motion and amendment in the same way as ordinary meetings, but the term "resolution" is used instead of "motion." Resolutions passed at Company Meetings may be of three kinds: Ordinary, Extraordinary, or Special Resolutions. An Ordinary Resolution is one passed by a bare majority of shareholders present, while an Extraordinary Resolution must be passed by a majority of not less than three-fourths of the number of shareholders at the meeting. A Special Resolution requires the same majority as an Extraordinary General Resolution, but it has to be confirmed at a subsequent meeting, though at the second meeting only a bare majority is necessary.

At Company Meetings the duties of the chairman are similar to those of the chairman at public meetings. He has to see that a quorum is present, determine points of order, name a speaker if more than one rise to address the meeting, and put resolutions and amendments to the vote. However, the chairman of a Company Meeting can propose a resolution or amendment. At Ordinary General Meetings the chairman moves *that the directors' report and accounts be received and adopted*, and generally takes this opportunity of reviewing the work of the company. He should allow a little relaxation of the rule, *one man one speech*, for it is only at General Meetings that shareholders have an opportunity of expressing their views on the affairs of the company. It is essential that the chairman should reinforce his knowledge of ordinary business procedure by a careful study of the Articles of Association which determine the procedure at the Company's meetings.

THE KEY TO SUCCESS

IN all the different kinds of public speaking we have described in this article, the same general principles hold good. Anyone wishing to become a proficient speaker in public must apply himself to the subject

seriously, recognising that it is an art, making as serious demands upon those who go in for it as writing, photography, or sculpture. The key to success is perseverance ; and there is no reason whatsoever why anyone, by studying its principles carefully, should not do well at it. The cardinal principles are simple : have your subject at your fingertips, rehearsed and arranged ; perfect the instrument which is to convey your speech to the audience, that is to say, learn how to make your voice carry, how to pitch it, and when to make a pause ; and, finally, learn moderation and taste in your delivery, learn to "get over" to the audience a personality that will grip it, with which it can sympathise. Do not get carried away by false emotion, do not lose your temper when you are heckled, or being worsted in argument ; do not strain after brilliance all the time, or make your subject ridiculous by constant attempts to make your hearers laugh. Remember the wise admonition of Hamlet to the players : "Speak the speech, I pray you, as I pronounced it to you, trippingly on the tongue : but if you mouth it as many of you players do, I had as lief the town-crier spoke my lines. Nor do you saw the air too much with your hand, thus ; but use all gently : for in the very torrent, tempest, and, as I may say, the whirlwind of passion, you must acquire and beget a temperance that may give it smoothness." And again, where the same character says : "There be of them that will themselves laugh, to set on some quantity of barren spectators to laugh too ; though, in the meantime, some necessary questions of the play be then to be considered." Substitute "speech" for "play," and you have a most valuable precept for the public speaker.

SOME HELPFUL BOOKS FOR THE PUBLIC SPEAKER

TO meet the rapid increase in popularity of this subject during the last few years a great number of books on public speaking have been published, some good, some bad, some indifferent. A few of the good ones may be mentioned here. A simple and attractively arranged book of a general nature is *Ladies and Gentlemen*, by E. Rosslyn Mitchell (Harrap). The author deals not only with public speaking in general, but he has separate chapters on the various kinds of public speaking. A more academic account of the subject is to be found in F. W. Orr's *Essentials of Effective Speaking*. This, while it is more detailed, is narrower in scope and concentrates on the mechanism of correct enunciation. Another approach to the subject is given by A. M. Henderson in *The Art of Effective Speech* (University of London Press), which explains how the most can be made of the beauty of sound, and is especially useful for those wishing to recite in public.

A rather different line, but a very interesting one, is taken by T. H. Pear in *The Psychology of Effective Speaking* (Kegan Paul). This book is to be recommended for later study, since it assumes a certain previous knowledge in the reader. For after-dinner speeches a good book is J. F. Finn's *Effective After-Dinner Speaking*. The advice is given in an attractive way and is practicable. A good recent collection of famous speeches has been made by W. H. Beable (*Celebrated and Historical*

Speeches). Anyone who is interested in the subject would do well to take a look into the periodical called *The Public Speaker* ; and a necessary part of his equipment will be L. D. Bell's *The Public Speaker's Dictionary* (Routledge). Breathing exercises and exercises in the mechanism of voice production generally are given in an easily understandable form in *The Spoken Word*, by L. Bagley (Methuen), and *Public Speaking*, by R. W. Donaldson (Geddes).

THE AMATEUR'S PLACE IN DRAMATIC ART

by EVAN JOHN

THE play's the thing, so a great many amateurs have found, to express the exciting and the dramatic in a routine world that too often lacks both.

The author of this article, who is himself a professional actor and producer, explains the difficulties of an art which tends, when undertaken by amateurs, to become all too often an entertainment for the cast rather than for the unfortunate audience. So the author goes through the process of play-producing, stage by stage, detailing points that do not occur to the ordinary playgoer and are only imperfectly known to amateurs of considerable experience. He shows, among other things, how the play must be produced ; how the lines may have to be altered to suit the players ; the positioning of the cast ; the effects which may be produced by lighting and how colours may be made to express characters ; how to bridge the gulf between footlights and audience, and a number of other lessons essential to a successful production.

THERE are several ways in which the ordinary man may come into contact with dramatic art, several reasons for which he may desire to know more about it. There is first the ordinary playgoer who wishes to become an intelligent playgoer—to know why some productions give him great pleasure and others a vague discomfort, how plays come to seem as bad and as good as they do. There are others whose love of the drama leads them to believe that they can only be happy by devoting their whole lives to it (and to go on the stage for any other motive is, to say the least, extremely unwise). A very slight acquaintance with the theatre will convince anyone that no book can teach the art of acting ; it can only be learnt by experience—that is, by performing plays before an audience, whether it is an audience of applauding (or yawning) hundreds, or an audience of one, the teacher at a dramatic academy, who interrupts the performance to praise, blame, and advise.

There remains a third, a middle way. There are some people who are unwilling or unable to change their whole scheme of life in order to adopt the actor's precarious profession, and yet are not content with merely sitting in an auditorium to watch others act. They feel something inside them which can only be expressed on a stage, and they itch to express it. They become amateur actors.

Their standards and their mode of procedure must differ from those of a professional production. Fewer performances are planned, less constant application to the work of rehearsal is possible. Generally there is far less money available for the initial expenses—though this is not always a handicap : many professional productions are swamped by a foolish and inartistic lavishing of money on their details. Finally, the performers will lack the experience and the technical skill of professionals.

They will experiment where the professional *knows*, intend more than they can perform, feel more than they can express. Nevertheless there is a real and an important place for the amateur in this, as in all arts. Occasionally his product is of real artistic importance.

THE AMATEUR ACTOR AND THE DRAMATIST'S STORY

I HAVE so far spoken as though the need for self-expression were the only motive behind amateur productions. There are many others. There is mere vanity. There is the desire for a new type of social intercourse ; it is a dangerous one, for unless the performers are co-operating for some end that appeals to higher instincts, amateur theatricals shatter more friendships than they cement. There is the hope of raising funds for some charitable object. There is the desire to brighten life in one of the duller places of the earth. But the need, or at least the wish for self-expression, must also be present, and it is from this angle we shall proceed. The most crucial matter to be discussed from this point of view is the choice of plays. The reader's indulgence is asked if I seem to go a long way round in order to discuss it.

A play is a dramatist's highly complicated method of telling a story—or rather of getting others to tell it for him. He may help in the telling himself, as did Molière in leading rôles and Shakespeare in small ones. He may coach the other actors. More generally, he hands the business over to a company and its producer, and returns to his desk to write another play. He needs interpreters as much as the musical composer, and acting is primarily, though not entirely, an interpretative art. There is a need for high technical skill in the interpretative artist, and room for genius. There is also need for a somewhat different quality, which is sympathy with the creative artist. The story which the dramatist is trying to get told must not only be intelligible to his actors, it must also fire their imagination and kindle a desire to help in the telling.

This sympathy with the creative artist, which is the actor's form of imaginative power, is not an uncommon quality. It must be latent, in some degree, in the audience, or they will have wasted their money. It must be nearer the surface in the actor, roused by rehearsal or by mere study of the play's script—or he had much better leave the stage and try the Stock Exchange. It can be cultivated, to a certain extent, by experience and effort, though far less so than the actor's second requisite, his technical skill in telling the story. It is more likely to be present in equal degree in amateurs and professionals : it is not unlikely that, of the two, the amateurs may have more of it.

IMAGINATION VERSUS TECHNIQUE

NOW it is quite reasonable, as well as quite practical, to classify plays in the light of these facts. There are plays, and great plays, whose main virtue is to give the amplest scope to the actor's technical skill. There are others which depend for their effect on the force and width of the imaginative vision which prompted their writers. Shakespeare's plays, written by an actor who was also a man of almost unbear-

able imaginative power, unite both virtues in a quite unique degree. Sheridan's, though not lacking in vision, are more remarkable as channels for the actor's artistry.

The untrained actor, however much he may be in sympathy with Sheridan's intentions, may be quite incapable of carrying them out; his lack of experience and skill may make the plays seem ineffective, artificial, and even dull. This is still truer of the majority of modern drawing-room comedies, which derive some of their inspiration from the tradition which Sheridan re-created, some from the personal foibles of the particular actors and actresses for whom most of them were written. At the other end of the scale stands Greek tragedy. It demands, as do all plays, clear speaking and appropriate gesture. But it depends infinitely less than most upon technical skill and experience, infinitely more upon imagination, sincerity, and honesty of purpose.

Here a difficulty immediately suggests itself. The majority of modern plays are written expressly for professional actors, and not only take their technical skill for granted, but trade, as it were, upon that skill. During the last two centuries, this tendency has grown more and more unmistakable. By recommending the imaginative rather than the technical, the poetical rather than the smart, I seem to be condemning the amateur to rummage among the works of our remoter ancestors for his plays, and adding to his other burdens the great one of speaking a language partly out of date, and imitating manners, or even emotions, that are unfamiliar in the modern world. The difficulty is a real one, and must be faced. I must plead that the larger emotions, with which imaginative plays are principally concerned, alter exceedingly little from one century to another.

MODERN PLAYS WHICH DEMAND IMAGINATIVE ACTING

APART from this, there are many plays written to-day which demand imaginative power rather than technical skill. Some amateur societies have begun to find their own local playwrights, and this is perhaps the happiest solution of all. But it is not the only one. There is the work of Masefield and of Gordon Bottomley. If Shaw's *You Never Can Tell* is largely dependent on the technique of its actors, his *Saint Joan* or (if a more modern setting is required) his *Showing Up of Blanco Posnet* demand sincerity and imagination, and can be made effective by those qualities alone.

Nor would it be in the least true to say that plays of which professionals have made a great commercial success are necessarily unsuitable for amateurs. But it is worth while stopping to think what principally contributed to such a success. I believe that by thinking along the lines I have suggested, amateurs will be led, and wisely led, towards *R.U.R.*, *Abraham Lincoln*, *The Likes of 'Er*, or *Journey's End*, rather than to the plays of Sutro, Somerset Maugham, or Noel Coward. There was until recently a very strong tendency for amateur theatricals to be concerned only with the latest smart drawing-room comedy. It looks so easy because it is "like ordinary life": and it is so easy to make it as dull as most of ordinary life.

HOW THE ACTOR CASTS HIS SPELL

FOR good or ill, the play is chosen ; it remains to get it acted. We know that at a certain date in the future, a certain (and we hope a large) number of people will assemble to hear a story told. It is our business to tell it in such a way as to excite, amuse, or at least interest them. Every play has a slightly different appeal, but there is one supreme necessity for all. The audience must be "held." A spell must be cast. It is better to avoid the word "illusion" which leads to endless and rather barren controversy. I do not myself believe that, in any form of play, however "realistic," an actor should attempt to create an illusion of reality, and trick his audience into thinking that they are not sitting in a theatre, but are actually watching, in some mystic fashion, an incident in ordinary life. Surely it is rather his task to interest them so profoundly in the dramatist's story that they have neither time nor inclination for remembering where they are ; to lead their minds into an atmosphere where the distinction between "Actual" and "Imaginary" is utterly unimportant. Drama, even in its most sophisticated forms, appeals to a primitive and, one might say, a childish part of us. It is the essence of a child's enjoyment that he does not know the difference between imagination and reality, and certainly does not stop to ask whether there are real pirates or real Red Indians at the end of the garden.

The word "spell" is quite unscientific ; but we are dealing with matters impossible to classify scientifically, and it has the advantage of calling two things to mind—hypnotism and magic. The actor's power over his audience is not unlike the hypnotist's. It is exercised on willing victims, who have paid for the pleasure of being bewitched. And it needs something akin to magic to take such hold of another's mind that only a tiny and half-conscious part of it is aware of the discomfort of his seat, and the loudness of his neighbour's wheezing, while its larger and more active part is completely absorbed in the doings of a set of people he has never seen before—in their triumphs and disasters, their loves and hates, or the exquisitely funny things that they are doing and saying.

MAGIC THAT MUST BE KEPT ALIVE

IF this is the spell that the actor must cast, it will be seen that his work is different from the painter's or the novelist's in two important particulars. He must start at a prescribed moment, keep his magic active so long as the curtain is up, and not allow anything to break, or even slacken it. He cannot leave his work lying about, to be picked up and put down at will. He must even dictate to his audience at what pace they should listen to the various parts of the play, rather than leave it to their discretion or the quickness of their eye ; and experience shows that this matter of "timing" is almost as vital as it is in music, and possibly more difficult to master.

Secondly, his spell, like an orchestra's, is a communal one ; it is cast, not by one artist, but by many ; and these artists are working in mediums more different than the various musical instruments. There

is a company of actors, each fitted to a different rôle, whose effectiveness lies in a certain measure of contrast. They have been coached and directed by a producer, who roughly corresponds to the conductor. And since acting, unlike music, appeals to eye as well as ear, their attitudes and movements must be aided by the costume designer, the scenic artist, and the electrician.

If anyone of these neglects his work, or is incompetent to perform it, the total effect will suffer, and the dramatist will not get his story told in the most effective way. If, with all the goodwill and competence in the world, the communal efforts are not directed to a single end, if each co-operator is trying to enforce a different idea of the play in hand, then no story at all will be told, and the audience will be distracted, confused, and finally bored.

It may be true to say that drama is the impurest of all the arts : it is certainly true to say that it is the most complicated. The perfect production (could there be such a thing) would present a series of stage pictures as beautiful as Leonardo's, constantly changing with a rhythm as pleasing as a ballet's ; meanwhile the spectator's ear would be charmed by perfect words perfectly spoken, and his mind completely satisfied in its sense of character, its sense of artistic truth, and (probably) its sense of humour. It is obvious that such perfection must be left until Kingdom Come. It is equally obvious that no approach to it can be made without a great deal of organisation, far more organisation than any other art demands, except possibly architecture. It is time to see what forms that organisation has taken in the modern theatre.

THE CAST LIKE AN ARMY UNDER COMMAND

ODDLY enough, the problem is not unlike the military one, though danger to life or limb has become a very small factor in the theatre. There is the same need for harmonising apparently disconnected activities : there is the same slow and careful preparation for spasms of swift and irrevocable action ; there is the same training of men (and women) by instructors who cannot be present, and certainly cannot be giving constant advice, when the crisis arrives. We have all read of mediæval armies with their feudal levies, nominally under one command but actually liable to embark on any adventure that offered, even the adventure of disbanding and returning home. Time and necessity have replaced them by a very delicate organisation, in which every member is directly or indirectly responsible to a commander-in-chief ; his general aim is prescribed by government, while its details are, or should be, left to his discretion. A somewhat similar evolution has taken place in the theatre, and produced a similar result.

The business manager decides general policy, and fixes the amount of money available. The actual planning and working of the play is left to the producer, who is given a stage manager to be his chief of staff and see that his orders are carried out. The producer deals directly with the actors. He should have some voice in the casting of them. He should have the last word on all matters of scenery and costume, though he may be unwise to use it against a competent designer. He

is unquestionably supreme over the electrician and the stage-hands, to whom he gives orders through his stage manager. His authority, generally speaking, ends as soon as the play is running satisfactorily ; the stage manager remains to see that everything continues roughly as it was planned at rehearsal.

Of course there must be much more give-and-take than there can be in an army. With the best will in the world actors are more "temperamental" than soldiers, and cannot give of their best if they are treated with rigid tyranny. A wise producer will listen to much more suggestion from below than an officer can afford to do. He will be slow to force unwilling actors to do anything, without persuading them, at any reasonable expense of time, that it is the right thing. It is even possible that minor revolts against his authority, or pressure on him from the management above in matters of detail, may improve the production—though such things can prove exceedingly dangerous precedents. Within certain limits, mainly financial limits, it is probably wisest to leave him monarch of all he surveys. He may not be a genius, he may make a great number of blunders ; but he should at least achieve some sort of unity, and without unity the production is foredoomed.

THE QUALITIES THAT MAKE A PRODUCER

IN spite of its many disadvantages this limited dictatorship has become the rule in most professional theatres. It is almost essential for amateurs. Amateur societies generally contain a single member marked out for the position of producer by his greater experience, his thoroughness and energy, or his authority over others. If there is no such single person, the society may experiment with different producers for different plays. Their respective worth will soon show itself. One may be found more suitable for one type of play, another for another. One may have a *flair* for handling crowds, another may be a brilliant coach of single actors in intimate scenes. Some plays require specialised qualifications, a knowledge of music, an artist's talent for scenery and costume, or a particular ingenuity in inventing "comic business."

A thousand such considerations will govern the choice, but, once it is made, the wisest course is generally to invest the producer with authority similar to that enjoyed by his counterpart in the professional theatre, to hamper him with no restrictions except the financial ones, and to offer him as little unasked advice as human nature permits. His responsibilities will be so all-embracing that one can discuss three-quarters of the subject of drama in terms of the producer's duties. This is in some ways the most convenient method, and, for the most part, it will be followed here.

It is fairly safe to say that no play can be satisfactorily put on the stage without some little adaptation. The majority of plays are altered, some slightly, some almost beyond recognition, during the rehearsals that precede their first production ; it is often in this altered form that they first appear in print. Sometimes the business ends here, and subsequent productions use much the same text, and even stage directions. But there is usually great advantage to be gained by further adaptation,

dictated by the size and shape of the stage, the nature of the audience, and, particularly, the capacity and characteristics of the actors. For instance, amateurs generally play a scene rather more slowly than professionals, and there are instances when this lack of pace should be compensated for by "cutting."

Cutting is an art, and a very difficult one. The story must be left intelligible, the balance between the various characters must be roughly preserved. In the case of Shakespeare, old-fashioned people prefer to cut out whole scenes and play other scenes intact; the new fashion is to cut few scenes entirely out, but to blue-pencil so many lines out of each. In other words, the admiration for Shakespeare as a writer of splendid scenes is giving way to the appreciation of him as a magnificent architect of plays. The Victorians (ignorant of cinema technique ahead of them, burdened by the long tradition of the "well-made play" behind) had no grasp of Shakespeare's queer but brilliant construction. They even played *The Merchant of Venice* in four acts, of which Act I. consisted of a selected number of the early Venetian scenes, Act II. of the scenes in Belmont. The extraordinary ingenuity with which the two atmospheres are alternated so as to heighten each other was sacrificed to the necessity for elaborate scenery and the influence of a dramatic convention utterly alien to the play.

WHAT TO CONSIDER WHEN CUTTING A PLAY

AN amateur producer, if he wishes to catch the modern ear, is probably wiser to make his acting version in imitation of recent "Old Vic" productions, rather than of Tree's or Irving's. He may do better still to make one in imitation of nobody: to sit down and soak himself in the play, decide for himself what is the relative importance of each character and each scene, what is the "shape" of the play with its main and its secondary climaxes, and discover how best to preserve that shape in a shortened version. The Elizabethan dramatists told their stories in somewhat leisurely fashion. The modern producer must decide what to sacrifice in order to get the same story told in two, or two and a half hours; intervals and pauses accounted for, he cannot allow himself much more.

Whatever cutting the producer does, he must do it with an eye to his particular stage and performers, preferring to sacrifice those scenes which demand greater scenic elaboration than he can obtain, and those which would be unintelligible or distasteful to the kind of audience he expects. He would also do well to cut down those rôles which he is forced to give to his less talented actors, and to emphasise those which he feels are in more competent hands.

This process of settling the "acting-version" of the text should be complete in its main lines before rehearsal begins. Small changes can sometimes be made with advantage up to, or even after, the dress rehearsal. It is not unusual to find that a scene which seemed satisfactory at rehearsal appears tedious when played before an audience, and the fault may be rectified after the first performance by cutting a few lines.

What is true of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, is true in

lesser degree of modern dramatists. A few plays need no editing at all, and would suffer by any attempt to edit them in view of a particular production. Most require slight alterations. For instance, it may be absurd to leave one's most talented actress unemployed, because she is rather tall and the play contains a line in which its only female character is described as short. If the author saw his heroine as short, the play will be slightly damaged by a tall one. But it will be far more damaged by an incompetent actress in a leading part; and, unless this question of stature is an important one, on which some essential feature of the story depends, it is much better to cut the line. The silliest method of all is to use the tall actress, leave the line in, and hope the audience will not notice it.

Again, modern plays are sometimes written with an eye to the scenic designer, and to an audience which will be attracted by the hope of seeing sumptuous scenery changed every few minutes. The scene of action is made to shift rapidly about with no particular advantage to the dramatic intention of its author. An amateur society may have few scenic resources or (worse still) no adequate method of shifting scenery quickly. The producer must decide whether the play may not be more seriously damaged by shoddy attempts to vary the scenery or long pauses between short scenes, than by the cutting of a few lines which indicate a change of locality. He must remember that the original author may even have been persuaded against his judgment to a frequent change of scene by some commercial manager, and that his play may be actually improved by scenic simplification.

STAGE-DIRECTIONS WHICH MAY BE IGNORED

UNLESS the producer knows something of the art of playwriting, cutting the text, however necessary, is a difficult business and calls for constant caution. With stage-directions a far greater latitude must be taken. Here the case is reversed, for the playwright is really intruding onto the producer's ground. Many of the best playwrights leave the whole thing to their producer and allow no stage-directions to appear except those which are absolutely necessary to make the story intelligible to a reader. The greatest of all dramatists seldom went beyond *Enter*, *Exit*, and occasionally *Dies*: and we are told nowadays that he left most of these to the printer's devil.

Since Elizabethan times, the habit of writing long stage-directions has grown to inordinate proportions. They are supposed to make a play more readable, though even this is a very doubtful proposition. Barrie has certainly brought the thing to a fine art and added great charm to his plays, considered merely as reading matter. Other writers are less successful, and they generally hamper a producer instead of helping him. Again and again their stage-directions will be found impracticable on any stage; often they turn out to be inconsistent with each other, so that characters rise before they have sat, and walk Left to a door already described as Right. Many stage-directions are not the work of the author at all, but are merely taken from the "prompt copy" of the first London production. The original producer, shall

we say, decided that the villain should exit L and then re-enter L disguised as a Chinaman ; there happens to be a quick-change room on the left side of the Grassmarket Theatre stage. It is obviously ridiculous that future producers should be bound by such a stage-direction merely because it has got into print.

Similar situations arise from the peculiarities of the particular actors and actresses who first played the parts. Actors differ enormously in their methods of expression, some using an exactly contrary gesture to express the same feeling. If Sir Herbert Tree walked round the stage or ran his hands through his hair at one point of a play, it by no means follows that such is the right action for his successors in the same part. Amateur acting would be far more entertaining and instructive for the actors, far more effective for the audience, if it could shake off the burden and tyranny of stage-directions.

It is questionable whether a producer's best method is not to read through the play, skipping everything in italics and only going back to them where he finds the story unintelligible. Strange as it may seem, this is often the best method of getting at the author's true intention. Having formed his own picture of the play, the producer must go back and carefully re-read the text with its stage-directions. He will find many of them extremely helpful, and can adopt them at once. Others can be left to be tried at rehearsal. Others again can be rejected at once as impracticable, or less well adapted to the particular production in view than the producer's own ideas.

There remains the melancholy case of the producer without ideas, or, what is commoner, without confidence in his own ideas. His best chance is to insist on the choice of some play published with full stage-directions taken from some professional presentation, to supply their deficiencies, and, as far as possible, reconcile their inconsistencies. This means the surrender of his own judgment to another man's enigmatically expressed ideas (for nothing can be so inscrutable in intention as a printed stage-direction) ; the result will probably be a workable compromise ; but it is hardly production.

MOVING THE PIECES ON THE STAGE CHESSBOARD

THE question of stage-directions has insensibly led us to the most important of all the producer's problems, the problem of "positions." A stage may be likened to a chessboard, on which the pieces are constantly moving as their mutual relations or the twists of the story demand. These movements, especially in a modern play, appear to the audience to be governed by the furniture on the stage and the doors and windows represented or suggested by the scenery. It is not a bad thing that the actors themselves should think of their movements as so governed. Only the producer fully realises that to state the matter thus is to put the cart before the horse. The position of furniture, exits, and so forth should be worked out before rehearsals begin, and should not be changed unless unforeseen difficulties arise. But it should be worked out with one principal object in view—to give the actors the maximum of appropriate positions at the most important moments of the play, so

that the big crises of its story, emotional or comic, are facilitated and emphasised by grouping and posture.

In this matter there are no general rules. It is obviously necessary to avoid what is called "masking" an important actor at an important moment—that is, placing him so that his face is hidden from a large part of the audience by other actors, or by a tea-table. On the other hand, it is a great advantage to an actor at such important moments (and especially for long speeches) to be more "upstage" than the person to whom he is talking—that is, farther away from the foot-lights. A good actor's power is directed like a searchlight's beam. Other actors, playing with him, can feel it being directed upon them. One can see it sweeping round an audience, or broadening out to embrace the whole auditorium. It is possible to project it backwards by an expressive posture of the back, while the voice (to change the metaphor) hits the back wall of the stage and ricochets into the target of the audience.

The secret of doing this seems to be a rediscovery of modern times, which have rejected the old rule, "Never Turn Your Back on an Audience." To make your leading actor assume such a position at one or two of the play's big moments may be to vary and so intensify his power over his hearers. But it is a device to be used sparingly. There was much sense in the old rule, if not in its rigid application. It is generally impossible to get the full effect out of a long speech with one's face turned away from the audience; prolonged ricochets soon cease to be as penetrating as the direct hit. In comedy especially, the back and even the side view quickly become tiresome. And it is unfair to demand of an actor that he should play too long a scene deprived of one of his principal weapons, facial expression.

PLACING THE CHARACTERS IN POSITION

WHEN an actor is alone on the stage he can often be left to find his own positions and vary them at his own will. But even here the producer, seeing things with the eye of an audience, can make valuable suggestions. Nowadays many actors demand definite instructions from their producer, even for soliloquies, and are puzzled or angered at any vagueness or any suggestion of "I leave it to you."

When it is a question of two people on the stage, the problem is generally a fairly easy one, even in a long unbroken scene. They can be placed roughly level and still bring their full force to bear on the audience without spoiling the suggestion that they are addressing each other. Where it is very necessary to make one more important than another, one can generally find some excuse to move him or her into a more emphatic position. The real difficulties begin when the stage is filled with a number of people, and increase when it becomes necessary to bring pairs or groups of them together at certain moments and then re-combine the groups as the nature of the scene alters. Here the chess-board may become infinitely complicated.

The broad rule, to be constantly broken and yet never quite forgotten, is to decide who is the most important character in any given scene, and put him slightly "upstage" of those whom he is addressing. As they

must not "mask" him for long while he is speaking, they must generally be put somewhat to the side of him ; or they can be made to sit, kneel, and lie while he stands over them ; or they can be kept on the level of the stage boards while he mounts steps or stands on some raised platform or balcony. It is also clear that his face should usually be as well lighted, or better lighted, than the other faces.

The old-fashioned solution of the problem was the actor-manager's. If he was a selfish man, he planted himself well upstage of his employees, talked down to them (that is, towards the audience), and forced them to talk up to him. The system left no doubt who was the principal character in the play. When he found himself in a muddle, for instance when the play demanded his speaking an aside to someone he had placed ten yards away, he would sometimes call on his stage manager to re-arrange the tangle ; but the re-arrangement left him still upstage and still near the centre. The audience naturally thought him the most remarkable artist on the stage, and may even have enjoyed the play all the better for its being a "one-man show." Of course, many actor-managers behaved less selfishly, would often come down towards the footlights, and so give the play those delightful twists whereby minor characters become the centre of interest.

In most theatres to-day, the stage manager has nothing to do with positions except to record them in the prompt book and see that they are roughly maintained throughout the run of the play. The leading actor as well as the rest of the cast takes his orders from a producer. The producer will naturally put him in emphatic positions far more often than he puts minor characters. But he will be strictly on guard against such groupings becoming ineffective through constant repetition.

MANŒUVRING THE PLAYERS ROUND TABLES AND CHAIRS

IT is with such considerations in mind that the producer must arrange the exits and entrances to his chess-board, the points (tables, chairs, windows, or fireplaces) towards which his pieces must be constantly moved, and the obstacles round which they must manœuvre ; for furniture is an obstacle as well as a point of approach. He must read through the play and decide which are the most important crises, tragic or comic, of the plot, the points where Romeo bursts in to the Capulets' tomb, or Charlie's Aunt pours tea into a top hat. He must decide how his characters should be grouped to give the greatest effect to such moments ; how doors, windows, and furniture can be placed so as to get the entrances most easily leading up to such groupings, and the movements or exits leading out of them again.

He must take some half-dozen or dozen of such situations, reconcile their various demands for entrances, exits, sitting-places, or hiding-holes, and then quarrel with his scenic designer until some compromise is reached between the necessities of the acting and the need for artistic shape in the scenery. Mere chance, or what appears to be mere chance, will again and again come to his aid. He decides to put the door to the hall at Centre Back, so that when it is opened the audience can look through it and see the postman speaking his few lines in the first act—

without the unnatural business of bringing a postman into the drawing-room. He suddenly discovers that this makes a magnificent entrance for the end of Act III., when the Husband returns unexpectedly, throws open the door, and stands dominating Faithless Wife and Unprincipled Lover. If the said Lover a few moments before has left his paramour on the luxurious sofa (close to fireplace Down L.) to pour himself out a drink at the side-board (Down R.), the triple group may have an impressive symmetry. The producer next discovers that it is quite possible to put the hall on a slightly higher level than the drawing-room, so that the Husband finds himself at the top of a few steps when he enters. The same platform which represents the hall floor in Acts I. and III. can be left standing for Act II., and become a walled terrace which greatly assists the grouping of the garden-party scene.

This apparent chance is the queerest and yet the commonest of theatrical phenomena. It is noticeably more frequent when one is dealing with well-written plays than with bad ones. It is most frequent of all in the works of playwrights who were primarily men of the theatre, Shakespeare, Molière, and even Ibsen. For, behind all its complexities, theatrical art has a unity, and that unity is constantly re-asserting itself when it is least expected.

THE DELICATE TASK OF CHOOSING THE PLAYERS

WHILE the producer is planning scenery and stage movements—and before he has had a chance of experimenting with the latter at rehearsal—there is the difficult business of casting to be done. It is here that he feels, rightly or wrongly, most need of despotic power. It is just here that he is most hampered and dictated to by others. Mr. So-and-so will not act unless he has the hero's part: the committee is convinced that Miss Whatshername would be ideal for the villainess, but has heard a rumour that her mother will only allow her to act "nice" parts. Lady Thingummy is a principal subscriber to the society, and disaster threatens unless her niece (who cannot act at all) is provided with an important rôle.

In the face of such difficulties the producer may be glad to share his responsibility with others—for instance, with the committee. But it is only just to consult him at every turn of the casting, and generally wise to give him a veto. Though some good producers are curiously bad at casting, and many too fanciful in their choices, it is unjust to ask anyone to rehearse with actors whom he regards as incompetent, unteachable, or unsuited to their parts.

On the question of suitability there is endless war. The old-fashioned view was that it is best to give the largest and most important parts to the best or most experienced actors. The more modern opinion is that the most important thing is to find the right "type" for each particular part. The old view is probably the safer, except in the matter of age: we have all suffered from Romeos and even Juliets bearing the burden of forty summers. "Casting to type" may have a serious effect on the general level of acting, providing everyone with a part that he thinks he can do easily, and denying him the opportunity for pretending to be

something different from what Nature designed. But, as always, hard-and-fast rules are only made to be broken, and systems must be combined with apparently inconsistent systems to achieve the highest practical success.

PRODUCER AND DESIGNER LEARN FROM EACH OTHER

BEFORE the producer has got far with rehearsals, probably before he has begun them, he must give his mind to a number of people who will never appear on the stage at all. Scene-painting and costume-making are lengthy businesses, and the designers may need instructions weeks before the production. Here everything depends on the personal factor. Some producers are perfectly competent to design their own scenery, and design or choose the costumes. Some producers even have time to do so. But the majority lack this specialised gift, or the opportunities for developing it. Some designers know how to create beautiful things in general, but do not know how to adapt them to the stage. There are others with a good working knowledge of the theatre who cannot judge from the script of the play what forms of beauty are appropriate to it.

It may be true of every art, it is certainly true of the theatre, that the words "beautiful" and "ugly" could be dropped from discussion and the words "appropriate" and "inappropriate" substituted. It is a matter of chance and personality whether designer or producer has the surer eye for the appropriate. The only way of hitting the best distribution of work between them is by constant discussion of the play, often apparently aimless, and (if possible) by collaboration over a series of plays.

It is often found that the designer can begin the game by suggesting a general style to which costumes and scenery should conform. He may produce a few rough sketches, or he may put forward a name, suggesting that *Antony and Cleopatra* be done in the style of Rubens' classical pictures, or the first two acts of *Milestones* according to the idiom of Leech's and Du Maurier's drawings in *Punch*. If he is worth his salt, "Period" will not be enough for him. Different artists saw their own periods with very different eyes, and archæological exactitude on the stage is a very doubtful virtue. No one denies that Lovat Fraser's designs for *The Beggar's Opera* were immensely successful, with their queer insistence on butterfly shapes and their preference for broad patches of even colour, most uncharacteristic of the be-sprigged be-patterned Eighteenth Century. Turn from *The Beggar's Opera* to some play that emphasises, instead of the gaiety, the sordidness, cruelty, and oppression of the same period. If the designer has no immediate ideas of his own, a glance at Hogarth's engravings may be an excellent stimulant for his imagination; and the designer's experience generally makes him more able to make such suggestions than the producer.

On the other hand, the producer is usually in a better position for suggesting how costumes and scenery can be made to tell the dramatist's story. He should know more of the social position and mutual relation of the characters, and should have ideas for making these plain to an audience. He may suggest how the important characters can be made to stand out, not necessarily by being more gorgeously, but by being

differently costumed from the rest ; and this is a point on which many good designers are curiously at fault. He will also know when characters most need a change of dress, to indicate a change in their fortunes or their occupations—when they must grow more or less ragged, buckle on armour, or get into evening dress.

MOODS AND CHARACTERS EXPRESSED IN COLOURS

THE instinct which produced totem-poles and heraldry, uniforms and trade-marks, can be exploited and greatly extended on the stage. Since broad effects are always needed, the badge is less important than the livery. To dress servants in similar, if dowdier, colours to those of their masters is only a beginning. A whole colour-scheme can be worked out, to tell the audience which of the characters are friends, followers, rivals, and enemies. There may even be changes of costume when friends quarrel or servants betray. History sometimes supplies a scheme ready-made : symbolism may suggest a basis for constructing one. The audience may be unconscious of it and yet find the play far more intelligible than it is when read.

If I might take a somewhat crude example, I would suggest *Julius Caesar*. If Cæsar himself appears in purple or gold, his wife Calpurnia and his slaves can be dressed in varying shades of deep red. When he is dead, Octavius, coming to supply his place, could wear an exact replica of his costume. Antony in scarlet and gold is clearly their ally, and the colours seem appropriate to his character. Opposite shades must be found for their enemies, royal blue for Brutus, green for Cassius (it is the colour of envy), and other blues, greens, or greys for Casca and his fellow-conspirators. White could be kept for the neutrals, Cicero and Popilius, black for the Soothsayer and Artemidorus. When the confusing battle-scenes begin, they can be made less confusing if Titinius has only to enter in a green cloak to proclaim that he is Cassius's man, and if the defeat of the conspirators' army is an affair of reds and browns slowly ousting the greens and blues from the stage.

It is obvious that we have here an excellent method, though a crude one of telling the story. It is less obvious that such a logical colour-scheme will sometimes (again by what seems chance, and is something more) produce the most striking colour effects in the stage pictures.

Here a difficulty suggests itself. The professors tell us that every Roman gentleman wore a white toga edged with purple, and that any other colour-scheme is definitely *wrong*. It may be remarked, to begin with, that the Roman period is one of very few in which such a difficulty arises ; colour has generally been a matter of personal preference. It may also be remarked that the professors are (as usual) at odds with each other. Many tell us that the white *Toga Prætextata* was a purely formal affair only worn for occasional high ceremonies. But there are times when no such arguments serve us, and we must face the question : should theatrical effect be sacrificed to historical accuracy—even to the extent of making a confusing scene more confusing by dressing the whole cast in one uniform ?

The question is a more difficult one than appears at first sight,

especially with writers like Shakespeare, who was under the impression that Romans wore doublets. Nowadays we have a few playwrights indifferent to historical details, and a great number whose work is based on historical research. Feuchtwanger's *Warren Hastings*, an essay on government (though an excellent play into the bargain) was played in Germany in vaguely Victorian clothes; it probably did not suffer at all. *Clive of India* is a play about the eighteenth century, and would be meaningless in any other costume.

Even more important than the playwright's intention is the state of mind in the audience. No one nowadays could stand Abraham Lincoln in a powdered wig. Yet no one thought it odd when Garrick played King Lear in one. The big change came a century ago and was inaugurated by the great actor Talma. He refused to play Greeks and Romans in a costume reminiscent of Louis XIV.; attempting accuracy, he was at first derided for "dressing up like an old statue." His contemporary, Walter Scott, was meanwhile completing the conversion of novel-readers to a sense of period. Since their time we have grown yearly better instructed about the petty details of our ancestors' lives.

HEALING THE BREACH BETWEEN HISTORY AND DRAMA

WE are left with three possible solutions. There are the historical purists, whose argument is stronger than it appears at first sight; the best of all designers is Fashion; an exact reproduction of any period will be in itself a unity, and a beautiful unity; any amount of research that can perfect it is artistically justified. At the other extreme are those who think that the historical sense is definitely an enemy to the dramatic. They hope to kill it at one blow by playing historical plays in the purest fancy dress, reminiscent of no particular period. They go further, and play *Hamlet* in modern costume. This is a perfectly defensible policy, though sometimes difficult to apply. It makes *Henry V.* very difficult to play, and would banish *Saint Joan* to theatres where eccentricity is a virtue.

The middle way is more usually adopted and is perhaps the most defensible of all. The defence may be based on the principle that artistic demands must always override archæology, provided that the word "artistic" is used in its widest sense. It is surely inartistic to disturb and distract an audience from the play by introducing well-known anachronisms. It is equally inartistic to handicap a production, and empty the treasury, in order to give a somewhat pedantic pleasure to a few specialists. Research in museums is always worth while, for it may always suggest interesting ideas. But if archæology is a good servant, it can be a very bad master.

The problem of accuracy becomes rather different when we are dealing with the history of our own day. Here the minutest details are so well known to the audience and the slightest incorrectness will distract them so much that there seems no room for design. The case seems most desperate in the matter of costume, though not so desperate as it was thirty years ago, when fashion decreed that all men must dress in clothes of uniform cut and some variation of mud colour. But a good

artist is awake to the variety which underlay this apparent monotony, and to-day the monotony is rapidly breaking down. If he cannot invent he has at least a wide field to select from, and the subtleties of modern dress give scope for a certain degree of symbolism (for instance, the rather obvious "white for innocence") as well as for immense talent in securing that appropriateness to character which is dramatic beauty. Even scenes in which every male character must appear in evening dress can be helped by a clever producer or designer. In some plays a dramatic point can be made of the actual uniformities of modern life, especially plays of what is called the "expressionistic" type such as *The Adding Machine*. In others, the variety still permitted in women's clothes can be used to tell the story and emphasise its dramatic points.

THE STANDARD OF BEAUTY SET FOR SCENERY

MUCH the same considerations apply to scenery, furniture, and properties. Their principal standard of beauty is appropriateness to the play; modern plays often leave the designer nothing to do except reproduce an ordinary room in an ordinary house. But we have seen that the last word about the placing of doors and furniture must rest with the producer: rehearsal at the dictation of a designer generally ends in rebellion.

Poetic plays demand less background, or at least a vaguer background, than others: fewer places to sit, less definite doors for entrance and exit, fewer "properties" for the actors to handle. Poetry generally deals with the larger aspects of life, and dramatic poetry in particular is careless of its smaller details. The scenery need not be so meticulously painted, and there is no need for the host of teacups, ash-trays, and photographs that swell up the property-list of a modern play.

Oddly enough, the most unrealistic of all plays—that queer form called farce—demands a wealth of realistic detail. Here the dramatic effect is that of ordinary life run mad. The actors take some familiar object, a soda-water syphon or a baby's pram, and proceed to do the most fantastic things with it. They enter a drawing-room, and behave as if they were in a zoo. Farce is one of the most delightful of all forms of art, because it is perpetually reminding us of ordinary life, and then turning it upside down, releasing us from the petty tyranny of familiar things. Instead of wearily washing up the crockery, people begin to throw it at each other. Instead of sitting in an office to add up figures, they suddenly start to crawl under the desks, hide behind the ledgers, and put the waste-paper baskets on each other's heads. All that is childish and primitive in us rejoices at the outrages committed against the solemn objects which dominate our lives with their stupid demand to be used for a rational purpose.

It is noticeable that old farces such as Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor* or *The Taming of the Shrew* need a far larger list of properties than his poetic plays—buck-baskets, plates, dishes, and riding-whips. We probably get less fun from them than our ancestors, because they have to have a vaguely Elizabethan shape and so do not give us the same sense of escape from ordinariness.

Romantic plays give the producer one clear advantage. The scenery can be simple and even cheap. A sky cloth, a set of curtains, and a few steps will see you through most poetic plays. But if the settings are simple, they can be immensely significant. Certain shapes and colours suggest or enhance certain emotions, and they can be built up with the simple equipment I have suggested. The modern living-room, or its rough equivalent on the stage, gives far less opportunity. Like costume, it can express the character of its occupier, but it is difficult to make it emphasise the emotional effect of what happens within its three walls. But the producer has one ally, more potent in romantic plays but not to be despised in the most realistic forms of drama. This is the electrician.

DARKNESS AND LIGHT

FOR stage purposes nothing has any shape, nothing is there at all, until you turn light upon it. Everything can be altered, and even altered in the middle of a scene, by the quality of the light so turned. The most realistic representation of a vulgarly furnished hotel lounge can become impressive, tragic, or sinister by a scarcely perceptible change of light. Smooth and efficient "dimmers" for working such changes during a scene are not always provided in places where amateurs act. But even if the lights must be set while the curtain is down and not altered during the action, there are still great possibilities to be explored. The lighting of scenes to enhance their emotional effect is an extraordinarily complex art, but it has its elementary rules which should be firmly grasped. Only long experience will show where and when to break them.

Some of the most ghastly things in history, certainly the majority of violent deaths, have taken place under a bright sun. Some of the funniest things have happened in the dark. Yet the emotional effect of bright light evenly distributed is triumphant, pleasant, or jocose. The emotional effect of broken light, alternate patches of brightness and dark, is serious, tragic, and sometimes lurid. The thumb-rule based on this holds good in nine cases out of ten: in most comedies and in all farces, turn on all the light you can, distribute it equally over everything, actors, scenery, and furniture, and keep it on for three-quarters of the play: in most tragedies, detective-plays, and plays of horror, distribute your light as unevenly as possible.

The theatre being what it is, your brightest patches should generally be the actor's faces and bodies, and those places on the stage where they most frequently sit or stand. The darkest will be the corners where they do not go, the space above their heads, and the scenery behind them. If Rembrandt had not lived in a country like Calvinistic Holland, and an age before electricity was invented, he would have been a wonderful producer of tragedy and even of crook-plays. A study of his paintings will help a producer to learn how ordinary rooms can be made to look dramatic. If the scene demands daylight, let that daylight appear to come through windows that concentrate or distribute it for a dramatic purpose. If it is night, then the opportunities are unlimited. Lamps, candles, and even firelight can be so placed as to make a pattern

which is at once plausible and dramatically effective. Long scenes in serious mood can be played with no light but a red glow through the fireplace. A single candle can suggest romantic love, a lantern hideous plots.

One word more. The reader may wonder why I have dealt with all these matters before I have touched on the crucial question of acting. Acting becomes what it is at rehearsal. But the producer must have worked out most of his positions before rehearsal starts. He must know roughly where his scenery is to stand, and what furniture he needs. It is less obvious, but also true, that he should have a rough idea of the lighting resources of his stage, and of how he proposes to use them. If he gets far with rehearsals and accustoms his actors to their positions before he has given a thought to lighting them, he may be storing up incurable trouble for the dress rehearsal.

SOME HINTS ON MAKE-UP

THERE remains one other matter for which it may be wise to make plans ahead—the matter of make-up. Amateurs sometimes hire an expert from a shop to paint the faces of the whole cast: sometimes they save their money by asking a professional actor to come in and help them—or, at least, to advise. It is probably wise to do something of the sort. The art of make-up resembles that of portrait painting, and is almost as complicated: different kinds and colours of lighting multiply the complications.

Make-ups are often divided into two classes, “straight” and “character.” In the first category comes the business of emphasising the features of an actor’s face so that it can be seen as clearly as possible from the back seats; the chief difficulty, even in a small theatre, is that of making movements and expressions of the eye visible at a distance. It is hardly possible to do this without giving the front seats an unpleasant sensation of “plastered” faces, and there is no satisfactory solution of this problem. “Character” make-up (the categories are elastic, not rigid) deals more with the problem of changing an actor’s face to suit his part: the commonest problem is to add to—or subtract from—his age. It is easier for men than for women, largely because the male face can be changed out of recognition by the use of false hair—beards, whiskers, and moustaches. But age is only one of many changes. Grease-paint and hair can make the mild look irritable, the poetic military, and the ordinary distinguished.

It is particularly legitimate for amateurs to call for outside help in this matter. Needless to say, it is quite useless to discuss it in print, except in a book where diagrams and photographs outweigh the letter-press. Professionals rarely learn from books; they learn from experience—and from “tips” supplied by fellow-actors. For in this art the tricks are far more numerous than the principles.

WHEN THE CURTAIN GOES UP ON THE PLAY

IF we have left the subject of acting till last, it is from no desire to underrate its importance. It is the one essential thing. Theatres in the past have done without scenery, without artificial light, without special costumes, without stage-managers and producers. The *Commedia del Arte* practically dispensed with the dramatist, leaving the actors to make up their dialogue as they went along. But it is quite impossible to do without acting (manipulation of puppets is only an indirect form of acting), and good actors can compensate for a lack of everything else. Nor can the best producer, except in rare instances and with unusual types of plays, make a successful production without good actors, or, at worst, actors that he can teach to act well. It has been said that a theatre can consist of four boards and a passion. It can also consist of four boards and a sense of humour. But the delineation of passion and the manipulation of jokes is the centre round which everything else in the theatre revolves.

TAKING LEAVE OF THE PRODUCER

HERE it may be best to cease looking at things through the producer's eyes. It is true that the coaching, teaching, and restraining of actors is far the most important part of his duties. It is true that he is in command at all rehearsals, that he must set the atmosphere of the play, and keep the acting in key with it. He arranges his actors' positions so as to give their talent its maximum scope. He is the defender of the self-sacrificing and humble against the conceited and self-centred. To do all this successfully, he must have been an actor himself (though not necessarily a good one), just as he should have been a stage-manager and have had some personal experience of electric switchboards, painting-frames, and carpenter's benches. But in order to discuss acting it may be better to say good-bye to this paragon of all virtues who has engrossed our attention for so long.

ACTING CANNOT BE TAUGHT

I HAVE given a few reasons for postponing the problem of acting to the last. But there is one more which must be faced before we start. To teach a particular person how to act a particular part may not be a very difficult matter; but it is extremely difficult to put anything into conversation, let alone print, on the subject of acting in general. There is hardly any helpful suggestion made at one moment which, if taken to heart, may not cramp an actor's style at another. To repeat what has already been repeated to the point of boredom, there are no rules in the theatre except those made to be broken. This applies to acting, the soul of theatrical art, even more than to its outward organisation. One cannot teach anyone to act, one can hardly suggest how he can learn. One can only say, "Get some lines by heart, stand on a platform before an audience, and see what happens."

It is a custom in many amateur societies, and rather a good one, to discuss the choice of a play among those who will have to act in it. It is frequently found that most of them feel more competent to tackle a modern and a realistic play than a romantic or poetic one. I have given some reasons for believing this to be a misplacing of confidence. To illustrate the point a little more may be a good introduction to a talk about acting.

Every play is written in a certain style or convention. And it is customary—though not very satisfactory—to classify these conventions according as they are more or less “like Real Life.” To write a play in blank verse is obviously to lessen its superficial resemblance to the surface of life, and to use rhymed verse carries the process a step further. Thinking along such lines, the amateur naturally feels that he can best depict something resembling his own daily experience. He feels himself liker to a Galsworthy character than he is to Othello, and thinks that by going on the stage and behaving, roughly, as he would in ordinary life, he will acquit himself better than he would by spouting poetry.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF “REAL LIFE” PLAYS

HE has forgotten at least three difficulties. First, it is one of the hardest things in the world to behave naturally with five hundred pairs of eyes trained upon one ; it requires years of practice. And the difficulty is greater than this ; it is not to behave naturally but to *appear* to be doing so, while raising the voice to a quite unnatural pitch and doing the smallest actions so clearly and decisively that they can be seen thirty yards away. Secondly, his task is not so much to imitate life, or to imitate anything, as to *entertain*. People do not pay for their seat in order to see a piece of real life which they could see better in their neighbour's drawing-room. They come to be entertained, and the art of entertaining them by speaking blank verse, or even by standing on one's head, is often an easier one than the art of entertaining them dressed in ordinary clothes and doing things which constantly remind them of the monotonous round from which they have come to the theatre to escape. And there is a final, and often unrecognised, difficulty. The art of realistic acting involves the extremely difficult feat of coming on to a stage for ten minutes and making clear to an audience what manner of man one is supposed to represent without doing anything which would seem unusual in real life ; yet in real life such a man might remain inscrutable to his closest acquaintances after six months of daily intercourse.

It is worth while considering whether the old playwrights did not set the actor an easier task. Richard III. can tell his audience, straight from the shoulder :

“I am determinèd to prove a villain.”

The modern actor has to convey the same impression by his manner of lighting a cigarette. He may have to do it very quickly. I have suggested ten minutes because minor characters often get less and major ones who have not established themselves in the audience's mind by

that time have probably ruined the dramatist's chances of conveying an intelligible story to the audience.

To sum up a point that I have perhaps laboured unduly, it is quite reasonable to say that one distrusts romance, detests poetry, and believes that there is more fun to be had by acting realistic plays. But it is not quite so reasonable to suggest that it is easier for the amateur to choose such plays, and to prevent them from seeming unnatural, unintelligible, or dull.

MAKING THE PERFORMANCE "ONE HARMONIOUS WHOLE"

WHATEVER the choice, the most important thing is to preserve the convention of the play chosen: to keep it, as some would say, all at the same distance from real life: to tell the story, as I would prefer to put it, all in the same style. Now that we have said good-bye to the producer, we can hardly call him back into the discussion to preserve this unity, though it is principally his business to do so. But whether he is there or not, it is essential that the actors should watch each other, and use roughly the same methods.

One frequent cause of disunion is that some members of the cast play more "broadly" than others. The term needs a little explanation, though the phrase "broad farce" is common property. It is generally necessary on the stage to do everything more deliberately and certainly more decisively than in ordinary life, and to speak louder, or at least more penetratingly. How far this exaggeration should be carried is largely a matter of the play, and of the convention in which it is written. But it is essential that some harmony should be established between the various actors. Among amateurs, the most usual difficulty is to make the inexperienced actors play broadly enough, speak their words with sufficient deliberation, and avoid fogging their actions by indecisive fumbling. There is also, at times, the difficulty of preventing the more experienced from playing too broadly.

Acting may be compared to a game in which the players toss the ball to each other. The ball is the attention of the audience, which, while the dialogue proceeds, is generally focused on the speaker, sometimes on the person spoken to, more rarely on a third person. During silences it generally rests on some particular actor or group of actors. The perfect game is achieved when each player holds the ball and juggles with it for the exact space of time demanded by the situation, not hurrying and slurring his tricks, nor dragging them out, before he passes it on to the next man. The self-assured tend to hold on to the ball as long as possible, to bore the spectators with unwanted exhibitions of dexterity, and to hold back the swing of the game for the sake of a single performer.

This fault is common among professionals, and it often succeeds in its selfish purpose of attracting undeserved admiration. It is not unknown among experienced or conceited amateurs. But it is commoner to find amateurs suffering from the opposite defect, the natural desire of an inexperienced and nervous player to pass the ball on as soon as he decently can, without doing anything with it. He gets too interested in the other players, and not enough in himself. He forgets how many eyes are focused on him in the hope of being entertained, interested, or

thrilled by what he will do ; or if he remembers it, he grows nervous and is so afraid of spoiling the game by his own lack of dexterity that he spoils it by lack of self-confidence. A cast which contains performers of both kinds (and most casts do) may upset the balance of the whole game, and spoil both the dramatist's purpose and the pleasure of the audience.

The proper way to play the game is a matter that cannot be taught and is only learnt by long experience. Self-confidence, self-assertion, one might almost say "cheek," are necessary to success. Some temperaments are so unsuited to the stage that they can never acquire it. Some develop it easily and misuse their power to make themselves more important than the play warrants. This danger is not so great in well-written plays as in bad ones. Good writers tend to give the smallest characters their little share of the audience's attention, and so do not tempt them to seize and hold on to the ball when they ought to be passing it on.

Badly written plays are filled with minor characters, little more than names, who are only put in to save the playwright trouble, and to do what is called the "feeding" of the main parts. They speak lines for the hero to cap. They do business which he can outdo with more conspicuous business. They bring messages which are his cue for outbursts of horseplay or emotion. Every part contains a certain amount of "feeding": Hamlet must feed Osric and the Gravedigger. But there are few parts in Shakespeare, or another good dramatist, that do not get their chance of showing their mettle at some moment. I have seen an amateur performance of Hamlet in which the First Sailor (Act iv. scene 6—generally cut) stood out for his little minute, and made a definite and delightful contribution to the play.

IMMOBILITY THAT MAY BE SPELL-BINDING

IT has been suggested already that the audience's attention is not always focused upon the speaker, and the point needs a little elaboration. The voice is perhaps the easiest method whereby an actor casts his spell upon the audience : it is generally the first which an amateur learns to use with full effect. But the body, whether in motion or frozen into some significant posture, is equally important. To learn this one has only to watch a ballet or a silent film. It is not always easy to keep the attention of an audience by pose or movement during a silence ; it is sometimes harder still to do so while another actor is speaking ; and yet plays again and again demand that it should be done. Watching professional actors, especially good ones, is no way to learn the business ; the art has become so complex that it completely conceals itself. It is better to start at the beginning and learn the elements. Talent and ingenuity can do what it pleases upon this foundation.

It is difficult to stand rigidly in one position through a long scene without attracting an audience's attention. Soldiers, guards, and flunkies can do so, partly by virtue of their uniform ; they become part of the scenery rather than of the cast—a background against which the actors act. Otherwise absolute rigidity tends to draw the eye. It

is a trick—though a difficult one to maintain—for the leading actor. I have been told that Guitry played the first act of *Le Misanthrope* thus, hardly moving any part of himself except his lips, whilst *Philinte* manœuvred round the stage. Actors on whom it is undesirable to fix the audience's attention should take an easy and natural position and change it slightly, without fuss, every minute or so. Then, when their turn is coming to be the centre of attraction, they can either take a significant posture and hold it until the eyes of the audience begin to focus on them or they can achieve the same result by waiting their time and suddenly making larger and better-defined movements than the other people on the stage.

PERFORMANCES SPOILT BY FIDGETY ACTORS

WHAT is most damaging of all to amateur performances is the enormous amount of non-significant movement, sometimes thoughtless, more often nervous; little fidgetings of the fingers, little wriggings of the body, and, worst of all, constant shifting on the feet. Movement on the stage can be of immense value and significance: its value must not be frittered away by any motion for which there is no good reason. The more one actor understands the art of stage-movement (which is largely the art of economy in movement) the more intolerable it is to see his efforts thwarted by his colleagues' fidgetings. Luckily good acting casts its spell on the stage as well as on the audience, induces other actors to remain still, or hypnotises them into making the appropriate movement at the appropriate moment.

The actor who is holding the audience's attention needs to exercise a similar economy. If his voice is expressing something, his feet and hands must either express the same thing, or divert attention from themselves by keeping still or moving inconspicuously. The emotion he is expressing, the joke he is trying to "put across," may at any moment demand any part of him to help in the expression. It is better for the beginner to keep everything still until the moment arrives when it can be of assistance. Then, and then only, the finger waggles, the feet move to carry their owner into a new posture, the arm waves, or the eyebrows shoot up. The professional actor devotes all his time to his art, so that if necessary he can remain in constant motion and yet constantly express the simple or the complicated thing which he is trying to convey to the audience. The untrained amateur (unless he is that rare phenomenon, a natural mover with movements unspoil by self-consciousness) will do well to reduce his motions to the fewest and most significant.

Here is another reason why light comedy is beyond most amateurs; it demands a constant flow of natural but expressive movement, which can only be carried out by actors who have trained themselves to do it unconsciously. Tragedy, melodrama, and detective plays on the one hand, farce on the other, admit of much broader movements such as can be studied and taught at rehearsal. Dead pauses and frozen postures are succeeded by the kind of large and significant movement which would smash the atmosphere of light comedy to pieces.

I have said that it is difficult to teach acting in general, and almost

impossible to write usefully about it. There is nothing absolutely right or absolutely wrong upon the stage. Even inarticulate mumbling can be effective, and clumsy shuffling may be extremely funny, or infinitely pathetic. But the cardinal difficulty is that what one does often matters less than the pace at which one does it. "Timing" is the governing factor in all acting, hardly less important than it is in music. It owns no principles, but differs with every line of every play.

It is obvious that some scenes must be played faster than others, and a good playwright will generally offer his actors little opportunity or temptation to speak them slowly. Beyond the written dialogue of each play there is no sure guide. One cannot even say that comic scenes necessarily need brisker timing than serious ones; some types of humour—for instance, those emanating from Yorkshire—depend on slow speech for their effect. Tragedy demands briskness wherever it verges, as tragedy always does, on melodrama; and at other times it calls for the torrential rapidity of Hamlet assailing Laertes by Ophelia's grave, or Hibbert gibbering his cowardice in the dug-out. Apart from the general pace of the scene there is the pace of every speech to be considered; emphasis can be laid on the crucial speeches by speaking them faster or (more usually) slower than the rest.

Most important of all is the pace at which cues are to be taken up. Here experiment at rehearsal may produce astonishing results in bringing apparently dead matter to life. It cannot really begin until all the actors have learnt their parts, and learnt them thoroughly. They must know as soon as they finish each speech how their next one will start, and this knowledge must become so unconscious, by practice, that the sound of the actual cue presses a button and releases an instantaneous spring. Then the scene can be gone through again and again until it obtains its full effect. A cue may be the signal for a definite pause, prolonged or momentary. On the other hand, it may call for so immediate a reply that there is no check in the sound of the dialogue. Occasionally, but far more often than amateurs suppose, the second speaker should cut in upon the last few syllables, or even words, of the preceding speech.

DISASTROUS RESULTS OF LEARNING LINES TOO LATE

INDEED, if there is one fault which particularly besets amateurs, it is that of slow timing on cues. It is mainly the product of imperfect learning of lines—and of learning them too late in rehearsals. In the professional productions of London theatres, where the rehearsals continue daily for three weeks or more, the actors should know their lines thoroughly before the last week begins; some prefer to arrive word perfect at the first rehearsal, and their performances generally benefit. Amateurs sometimes think that it is enough to know their lines by the dress rehearsal. This is laziness, and its results are disastrous. It is like training for a boat-race and never troubling to change into the proper clothes, or row as one intends to row in the race, until the day before. Lines learnt are spoken quite differently from lines read in a book. One needs practice in so speaking them. More still, the other

actors need to know in good time how they are going to be spoken before an audience. There is no other way of getting the correct timing throughout a cast.

Imperfectly learnt words are worse than words read from the book in hand. When an actor's cue comes it is no time to say, "Ah! That's my cue. Let me see; now I have to say so-and-so." The lines must be on the tip of his tongue without any thought on his part, so that his whole mind is concentrated on judging how to speak them. There must always be a period of rehearsal when people are stumbling over their words. If that period corresponds with the last few days of production, and leaves no time for practice and experiment after, the audience may expect a dreary evening.

SINCERITY THAT STRENGTHENS THE AMATEUR'S POSITION

HERE a word must be said on the peculiar and inevitable difficulty with which all amateurs have to struggle. If their productions are inferior to those of professionals, it may not be merely a question of lack of experience. Sincerity, freshness, and the power to choose better plays may be an ample compensation, and put the amateur in a stronger position than all but the best professionals. It is not even a question of time for rehearsals; hour for hour, many amateurs can spend far longer on a play. It is rather that these hours may be spread out over a period of many weeks, or even many months, while professionals, rehearsing for one week, for a fortnight, or perhaps for a month, can rehearse daily. Where rehearsals are scattered, with long intervals between them, the first hour or two of Wednesday's rehearsal may be spent in recapturing the smoothness, the briskness, or the emotional effect, which was achieved last Saturday. It is quite possible that with actors tired, or unable and unwilling to concentrate, one may not have caught up with Saturday's achievement when the time arrives for going home; the production may be going backward instead of progressing.

Societies should strain every nerve and cancel every social engagement in order to crowd their rehearsals together towards the end. A production is like a leaky can. Filled to the brim one day, it is left alone for a week and then found inexplicably and distressingly empty. The leakage is caused by all the other interests or duties which prevent an amateur concentrating all his waking attention on the play, by forgetfulness, by mere lapse of time, and by lack of constant practice. Only continual pouring will repair the waste and keep the play alive.

The record of our repertory theatres proves that anything can be done in a week of daily rehearsal, even though the rehearsers are acting another play at night. But nothing that is worth doing can be done by one rehearsal a week over a period of six months or even a year. Unfortunately those who are acting the smallest parts may be just as important for the re-creating of the *ensemble* as those who are getting most of the fun. But drama is an art, and demands sacrifice: it is a communal art, and demands a heartless inequality of sacrifice.

We have said that this sacrifice and this application are directed towards a single aim—the gathering together of a number of people

upon a certain night in order that a story may be told them, and a spell cast over them. Men and women devote their whole lives to studying the best method of casting that spell, and their experience shows that though scenery, costumes, and the skilful use of light may greatly assist them, the personal factor, the direct power of actor upon audience, is incomparably the most important thing. The greatest producer is not a skilful manipulator of curtains and electric switchboards, but the man who can place good actors so as to give their personal power its maximum effect, and teach the less competent how to act.

The only other factor that is comparable in importance is the quality of the play—not the literary quality, though this may be very valuable, but its theatrical power. Amateurs, conscious of their own inexperience of acting, naturally place great reliance on their playwright, and, if they are wise, think out the simplest and most direct way of getting his story told. Given a fair chance, a good dramatist will do half their work for them. His name on the programme, and the title of his play, may prepare the audience and put them in half a mind to be bewitched. His opening scene, though not brilliantly played, may begin to grip their minds. Within ten minutes the actors are breathing a little more freely than they did before the curtain rose. Their self-confidence begins to creep back and they act all the better because an encouraging wave of concentration has stilled the coughing in the audience and can be felt streaming across on to the stage. The problem becomes not so much one of casting, or even enhancing a spell, but of avoiding things that will actually break it.

LITTLE FAULTS THAT DISPEL THE CHARM

IT is here that the amateur is most deficient and often least conscious of his deficiency. Years of appearing before an audience, or even of watching others do so from the wings, have a curious effect on a good professional actor. He acquires a kind of unconscious censorship ("inhibition" is, I believe, the psychologist's term) which prevents voice or body from doing anything that will dispel the charm. A play once begun, and its convention established, certain tones of voice, certain movements of the body, will definitely spoil the atmosphere; often repeated, they will set the audience fidgeting in their seats. They are most damaging from an actor with a leading part, but even the servant who comes in to announce a new character or to serve tea can do her little bit of harm.

In most plays, movements which are in themselves clumsy or ungraceful will handicap a whole production. It is a curious fact of the theatre that the introduction of animals on to the stage is nearly always a mistake. It is not only that they draw too much attention by refusing to stay still when they should; some dogs, for instance, have an excellent "sense of the stage" in such matters. It is rather that they are generally far more graceful in their movement than a self-conscious and sophisticated human can hope to be. They set up a new standard of movement which makes the cast look curiously clumsy.

If unity has been achieved in movement, it can still be broken by

inappropriate tones and inflections of the voice. Here the smaller parts have sometimes a harder task than the leading actors ; after standing silent for a long time on the stage they are suddenly required to produce a line or two in harmony with the general music, without previous practice before an audience.

ATTACKING THE AUDIENCE WITH A BLUDGEON

BUT the spell cannot only be broken by thoughtless movement or inharmonious inflections, it can also be destroyed by considered but injudicious attempts to enhance it. It can be broken by over-emphasis. Here professional actors are often worse than amateurs—delivering unimportant lines with the slow and portentous manner of an unskilful parson, or drawing a cork as if the fate of empires depended on the action. This is like attacking the audience with a bludgeon, instead of using the enchanter's wand. In most plays there are times when the bludgeon is needed ; some even demand the letting off of firearms on the stage, and most farces contain moments when everybody yells at the top of his voice. But a constant succession of such belabourings will soon reduce an audience to inattention, resentment, or active hostility.

THE LIFE-BLOOD OF THE THEATRE

FINALLY—and it is the most insidious of all dangers—monotony will destroy the whole spell, gradually but more irretrievably than anything else. Variety is necessary to every art : it is the life-blood of the theatre. Contrasts must here be sharper and—it is the only possible word—more dramatic than anywhere else. Some plays rely less on sudden twists of the story than others ; they must obtain their contrasts by sharper distinctions and conflicts of character, or by the constant variety in the style of the dialogue. In some plays, and Greek drama is the best example, the variety is obtained by development. There are no surprises, no sudden changes, and yet the final curtain finds everything changed—and irrevocably changed.

There is great artistic pleasure to be had in watching the gradual unfolding of an inevitable destiny. But it must unfold. The actors must make it do so. They must act differently, more slowly or more rapidly, with more emphasis or with less, as the story proceeds. They must work for the smaller crises which contribute to the main development. They must make it quite clear where the grand climax comes, and their acting must have as much "shape" as the play.

We have said that there is nothing in itself wrong upon the stage ; but to this rule there is one universal exception. It is always wrong to be dull. It is possible for a work of history to be dull, and usual for a scientific treatise : yet their dullness does not prevent them from exercising a great and valuable influence. A play obeys other laws. It can be a good play—though perhaps not a great one—while remaining unreal, grotesque, untruthful, immoral, and disgusting. But if it is dull, or if the actors have made it so, there is no more to be said. They are bad artists, and they have cheated the audience of their money.

BOOKS THAT PRODUCER AND PLAYER SHOULD READ

THE literature of the theatre, and even of the amateur theatre, is extensive, and seems to increase hourly. I can do no more than suggest a few books that I have found useful myself.

PRODUCTION.—A simple and businesslike book for amateurs is John Fernald's *The Play Produced* (Deane & Sons) : its practical directions are good, even when the reasons given are questionable. Frank Vernon's *Modern Stage Production* (published by *The Stage*) is also short, simple, and direct, though not addressed particularly to amateurs. Martin Browne's *The Production of Religious Plays* (Philip Allan) deals with a single field, but deals with it in an instructive and forceful way.

DESIGN.—I know of no single book on theatrical design except those of Gordon Craig, for instance, *The Art of the Theatre* (Heinemann) : they are excellent reading and well illustrated, but supply ideas rather than practicable advice. Collections of photographs and designs are often the most useful, as, for instance, those of Robert Edmond Jones (Theatre Arts Inc., N.Y.) and the beautiful collection of George W. Harris (Nisbet). The illustrations to K. Macgowan's *The Theatre of To-morrow* are interesting.

COSTUME.—Books on costume abound : for completeness and arrangement, none supersede Planché's *Cyclopedia of Costume* (Chatto & Windus, 1876). Dion Clayton Calthrop's *English Costume* (Black) is better written than most : the line drawings are excellent, much better than the coloured plates. M. and C. H. B. Quinnell's *Histories of Everyday Things—in England—in Roman Britain*, etc. (Batsford), are excellent and most useful. Most of the illustrations to Köhler's *History of Costume* (Harrap) are good, and patterns are provided for the cutter.

ACTING.—I know of no general book that is much use, except perhaps Louis Calvert's *Problems of the Actor* (Simpkin Marshall). Much can be picked up from such books as G. B. Shaw's *Dramatic Opinions and Essays* (Constable). Talma's *Reflexions on the Art of Acting* (published with Irving's Introduction by Columbia University) is quite masterly. Many books of Memoirs make good reading, a few are really useful, as, for instance, Sarah Bernhardt's (Bles). Stanislavsky's *My Life in Art* (Bles) is widely praised.

LIGHTING.—C. H. Ridge's *Stage Lighting for Little Theatres* (Heffer & Sons) is excellent, comprehensive, and extremely intelligible.

MAKE-UP.—The best book is perhaps Cavendish Marton's *The Art of Theatrical Make-up* (Black).

The best library for books on drama, particularly amateur drama, is that of the British Drama League. In fact, this society gives valuable help to amateurs in all directions.

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